

PINDAR'S *ISTHMIANS* 3 AND 4: ESSAYS AND COMMENTARY

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## PINDAR'S *ISTHMIANS* 3 AND 4: ESSAYS AND COMMENTARY

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As pointed out by Richard Hamilton, 'commentaries on individual odes are arguably the most obvious need in Pindaric scholarship' (*Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 1999.01.01). My dissertation is a small step toward satisfying this need. The choice of the *Third* and *Fourth Isthmians* has been motivated by the lack of a thorough and up-to-date commentary and by the fact that this pair of odes poses a number of interpretative problems with resonances throughout the entire epinician corpus.

The dissertation opens with four essays that address the major problems besetting the interpretation of the two odes. The first, '*Isthmians* 3 and 4: One or Two Poems?', examines critically the arguments about the relationship between the two poems. Section two, '*Isthmians* 3 and 4: Imitation at the Symposium', argues that *Isthmian* 3 is an improvised piece imitating *Isthmian* 4. On the basis of evidence from Pindar and Bacchylides, I follow J. Strauss Clay in positing the symposium as the most likely performance setting of this poem. Section three, '*Μοῦσα Ἀνθυγενής*: Context and Performance of Short Epinician Odes', raises doubts about the now orthodox assumption that short epinician odes like *Isthmian* 3 were performed at the sites of the games and proposes plausible alternative scenarios. The last section, '*Isthmian* 4: *Ἐνάργεια* and Performance of Pindar's Odes', takes cue from Pindar's reference to the topography of the sanctuary of Herakles at Thebes and the vivid account he gives of the sacrifices performed at the local festival of Herakleia (*Isthm.* 4.61-6). After examining *in extenso* references to geographic and architectural

landmarks in Greek poetry, I suggest that the nature of such descriptions is uninformative about the performance-setting and is often mimetic, i.e. aiming to evoke places in the mind of the audience rather than drawing attention to what they can see for themselves.

My text follows the Teubner edition of Snell-Maehler. The deviations are minimal and are listed in the note preceding the text. The accompanying translation has no pretension for literary merit and is meant primarily to complement the text and the commentary.

The purpose of the commentary is to provide a comprehensive exegesis, which may be useful both while reading the two odes from start to finish or merely consulting notes on individual lines and passages. The emphasis is on matters of literary, philological, historical, and linguistic significance. Metrical issues have been for the most part left out. Naturally in a work of this kind attempts to come up with new and original interpretations go hand in hand with assimilation and analysis of previous scholarship. Where I felt unable to shed any new light, I tried to provide ample bibliography on the question. As a rule, though, doxography for the sake of doxography has been avoided.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Roman Ivanov was born in Balkhash, Kazakhstan in 1977. He studied Classical Archeology, Greek and Latin Literature in Tel Aviv University, from where he graduated *magna cum laude* in 2002. In August of 2003, he entered the doctoral program in Classics at Cornell, where he concentrated primarily on Greek Lyric Poetry. He defended his thesis in July of 2009.

To my parents, Vladimir and Lydia

*τί φίλτερον κενδῶν τοκέων ἀγαθοῖς;*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Denniston J. D.	Denniston, <i>The Greek Particles</i> <sup>2</sup> rev. K. J. Dover (Oxford, 1954).
D-K H.	Diels (ed.) <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> <sup>6</sup> , 3 vols., rev. W. Kranz (Berlin, 1951-2)
Ebert J.	Ebert, <i>Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen</i> (Berlin, 1972).
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , 15 vols. (Leiden, 1923-58).
<i>GMT</i>	W. W. Goodwin, <i>Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb</i> (Boston, 1890).
Hummel P.	Hummel, <i>La syntax de Pindare</i> (Paris, 1993).
K-G R.	Kühner and B. Gerth, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache</i> , zweiter Teil: Satzlehre (Hanover and Leipzig 1890-2).
Käppel	L. Käppel, <i>Paian</i> (Berlin, 1992)
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, R. McKenzie, and P. G. W. Glare, <i>Greek-English Lexicon, with a Revised Supplement</i> (9th edn.; Oxford, 1996).
<i>PMG</i>	D. L. Page (ed.) <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> (Oxford, 1962).
Schwyzler	E. Schwyzler, <i>Griechische Grammatik</i> 3 vols. (Munich, 1950- 93), vol. ii rev. A. Debrunner.
Slater	W. J. Slater, <i>Lexicon to Pindar</i> (Berlin, 1969).

- Smyth H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. G. Messing (Harvard 1956).
- Snell-Maehler B. Snell and H. Maehler (eds.) *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1987-9).

Abbreviations of ancient authors and their works are those of LSJ and *OLD*, with the exception of Pindar's odes. These are referred to as follows: Isthmians – *Isth.*, Nemeans – *Nem.*, Olympians – *Ol.*, Pythians – *Pyth.* Abbreviations of journal titles which appear in *Works Cited* follow the conventions of *L'Année philologique*.

## INTRODUCTION

### I. *ISTHMIANS* 3 AND 4: ONE OR TWO POEMS?

#### *The Problem*

The question of the relationship between the *Third* and *Fourth Isthmian* odes, both composed for Melissos of Thebes, has always challenged the ingenuity of Pindarists and yet evaded a satisfactory solution.<sup>1</sup> The metrical identity of the two poems finds no adequate parallel among the complex forms of Greek lyric. This fact has naturally provoked a fair amount of speculation. Some scholars have argued that *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4 were conceived as a single compositional unit. Others have insisted that the two poems are independent. The only way to settle this question is to carefully reexamine the meager evidence that we have.

Any account of the problem must start from the fact that *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4 are transmitted as separate poems in MS *B* (=Vat. Gr. 1312). On the other hand, MS *D* (=Laur. 35,52) and its Triclinian progeny run them together. The *editio princeps* of Aldus (1513) follows the latter, whereas the slightly later edition of Kallierges (Rome 1515, *editio Romana*) the former. The evidence of MS *D*, however, is of little value because it fails to separate other odes as well.<sup>2</sup> By contrast, the separate transmission in MS *B* is supported by the scholia, which twice refer to *Isth.* 4 as ἡ ἐξῆς ᾠδὴ ('the following ode') and explicitly distinguish between τρίτον and τέταρτον εἶδος ('the third and the fourth poem').<sup>3</sup> Given all this evidence, it is reasonable to assume that

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<sup>1</sup> Slater on Willcock (1997) in *BMCR* (96.02.03) declares them 'a notorious and insoluble conjunction'.

<sup>2</sup> Barrett (2007) 164 n. 137: '*Isth.* 2, 3, 4. The common ancestor of *BD* omitted the headings of all the *Isthmians* and left in each case simply a blank space; *B* preserves the spaces, but *D* in these two places closed them up'. For a brief assessment of the manuscript evidence concerning *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4, see Köhnken (1971) 87 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Σ *Isth.* 3.24 and 29; Σ *Isth.* 3 metr. and 4 metr. prefixed to each ode.

the division of the two odes in *B* goes back to the Alexandrian edition of Pindar, an assumption which is now practically confirmed by the discovery of a papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 2451) containing a trace of a separate heading for *Isth.* 4.<sup>4</sup> This, however, prompts a further question. Why were the two poems considered separate by ancient scholars? Although the scholia shed no light on this matter, it seems highly unlikely that the Alexandrian editors had any reliable information about the original circumstances of performance. In which case, we may reasonably conclude that they must have relied on the evidence of the text alone, and, so far as can be discerned, this evidence points inexorably toward separation. The basic facts are as follows:

(a) Occasion and Relative Chronology:

The two odes celebrate different victories. *Isth.* 4 celebrates Melissos' victory at the Isthmos (*Isth.* 4.2). It mentions the presiding deity of the Isthmian games, Poseidon (*Isth.* 4.19-20), and later on reveals that Melissos was victorious in the pankration (*Isth.* 4.43-4). The ode also contains a brief catalogue of the past athletic achievements of Melissos' family, the Kleonymidai, mentioning their victories in the local games of Sikyon and Athens (*Isth.* 4.25-30) and concluding with a reference to their previous lack of success in the panhellenic games. Considering this reference alongside the poet's reflections on how the ancient glory of the family is revived by Melissos' present victory, we must conclude that his Isthmian victory in the pankration was the first athletic success of the Kleonymidai in the games of the *periodos*. The occasion of *Isth.* 3, on the other hand, is clearly Melissos' victory in a hippic event at Nemea (*Isth.*

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<sup>4</sup> See note on the title of *Isth.* 4.

3.11-13).<sup>5</sup> However, the ode also refers to a certain victory at the Isthmos. Although the discipline is not specified, this victory was most likely the occasion of *Isth.* 4.<sup>6</sup> The inevitable implication of all these facts is that *Isth.* 3 was composed after *Isth.* 4.<sup>7</sup> As a result, their order in our editions must be reversed.

(b) Rhetorical and Stylistic Considerations:

Reading the two odes continuously as a single poem, we are likely to run into some serious problems, especially when reach the first triadic boundary:

*Isth.* 3.18b ἄτρωτοί γε μὰν παῖδες θεῶν. |||  
*Isth.* 4.1 ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἑκατι κτλ.

Although we know that Pindar has no aesthetic qualms about repeating cognate or even identical words within the scope of only one or two lines,<sup>8</sup> separation by only a single word—not counting the enclitic—would be unparalleled. The major flaw, however, is not so much the harshness of the repeated θεῶν as the complete lack of any logical or rhetorical cohesion between the epode of *Isth.* 3 and the first strophe of *Isth.* 4. The gnomic conclusion of *Isth.* 3 expresses the conventional idea of the vicissitudes of human fortunes and, to all intents and purposes, looks like a regular closural device.<sup>9</sup> Although we must admit that we are not quite clear about the precise

<sup>5</sup> Most likely in the chariot race; see *Isth.* 3.13 n. on ἵπποδρομία. For the classification of the ode as Isthmian rather than Nemean, see note on the title of *Isth.* 3. For Privitera's hypothesis that both victories of Melissos were in the horse race, see *Isth.* 3.9-13 n.

<sup>6</sup> The scholiast takes ἵπποδρομία κρατέων (*Isth.* 3.13) to refer to the victory at the Isthmos as well as to that at Nemea. However, there are good reasons to think that the participial phrase refers exclusively to the victory at Nemea. For a discussion, see *Isth.* 3.9-13 n.

<sup>7</sup> The absolute chronology is far less certain. Even if we accept the conventional view that *Isth.* 4.16-7 contains a subtle allusion to the battle of Plataia (see n. *ad loc.*), this event can only serve as a *terminus post quem*.

<sup>8</sup> See *Isth.* 3.5 n. on πλαγίαις δὲ φρένεσσιν.

<sup>9</sup> Rutherford (1997) 51-3.

meaning of the last sentence of the gnomic cluster,<sup>10</sup> the triad reads as an independent poem. Now, the only way in which the opening of *Isth.* 4 could function as a natural sequel to *Isth.* 3 is either by illustrating the gnome or by breaking off into a new subject, neither of which appears to be the case here. This is how *Isth.* 3 ends:

καὶ ματρόθε Λαβδακίδαισιν σύννομοι  
 πλούτου διέστειχον τετραοριᾶν πόνοις.  
 αἰὼν δὲ κυλινδομέναις ἀμέραις ἄλλ' ἄλλοτ' ἐξ  
 ἄλλαζεν. ἄτρωτοί γε μὰν παῖδες θεῶν. (Isth. 3.17-18b)

On his (i.e. Kleonymos') mother's side, partners of the Labdakidai  
 in wealth, they walked amid the toils of the four-horsed chariots.  
 Life with its rolling days changes now one way now another,  
 but the children of the gods are unwounded.<sup>11</sup>

The brief excursus into the family's hall of fame is rounded off with the sentiment that human affairs are unstable. If attached to *Isth.* 3, the first strophe of *Isth.* 4 would serve as an unusually abrupt asyndetic return to the praise of the victor, leading to an almost point-by-point repetition of the main themes and even vocabulary of the preceding lines:

Ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἑκατι μυρία παντᾶ κέλευθος,  
 ὦ Μέλισσ', εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανας Ἰσθμίοις,  
 ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὕμνω διώκειν·  
 αἶσι Κλεωνυμίδαι θάλλοντες αἰεὶ  
 σὺν θεῷ θνατὸν διέρχον-  
 ται βιότου τέλος. ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοιός οὖρος  
 πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπαῖσσων ἐλαύνει. (Isth. 4.1-6)

I have, thanks to the gods, countless roads in every direction,  
 Melissos - since you revealed your skill in the Isthmian games –  
 to pursue with my song your achievements,  
 with which the Kleonymidai always flourish  
 with divine help, as they go through

<sup>10</sup> See *Isth.* 3.18b n.

<sup>11</sup> The translations of *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4 are mine throughout. For other Pindaric passages, I use the translation of Race (1997), occasionally modified. Translations of other authors are mine unless otherwise indicated.

and reach the mortal end of life. Different winds at different times  
rush upon all men and drive them on.

As it unfolds, *Isth.* 4 continues to reverberate some of the same ideas which featured prominently in *Isth.* 3.<sup>12</sup> Since the resulting tautology is anything but rhetorically effective, it corroborates the assumption that, whatever the reasons for their metrical identity, each of the two odes must be considered complete and independent.

### ***Doxography***

The significance of the internal evidence was not properly recognized by most scholars of the 19th century, who tried to defend the unity of *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4, offering various implausible arguments. Their unwillingness to accept the facts as they are was at least in part due to the mistaken assumption that *D* is a better MS than *B*.<sup>13</sup> The obscurity of the last two lines of *Isth.* 3 and the fact that *Isth.* 4 does not start with a typical epinician proem seemed to support the MS ‘evidence’. Proceeding on these lines, some scholars, like Boeckh (1811), tried to find at least some sort of rhetorical cohesion between the two disparate sections of what they thought to be one poem,<sup>14</sup> while others, like Hermann (1809), went so far as to accept that ‘even the worthy Pindar sometimes nods’.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> E.g., *Isth.* 3.2 κατέχει φρασὶν αἰαντὴ κόρον = *Isth.* 4.8-9 κελαδενῶς τ’ ὀρφανοὶ ὕβριος, *Isth.* 3.4-5 Ζεῦ, μεγάλα δ’ ἄρεταὶ ἔρχονται ἐκ σέθεν = *Isth.* 4.11 σὺν θεῷ διέρχονται βίотου τέλος, *Isth.* 3.1 εὐδόξοις ἀέθλοισι = *Isth.* 4.11 ἀπλέτου δόξας etc.

<sup>13</sup> As pointed out by Barrett (2007) 164, this illusion vanished only after MS *B* was rediscovered by Tycho Mommsen.

<sup>14</sup> Boeckh (1811) 564: ‘Praetera sententia ep α’. posita ad Labdacidarum maxime, maternorum victoris avorum, fluxam variamque fortunam, quae Olymp. II. explicatur eximie, referenda videtur, str. β’. autem de Cleonymidis disseritur’.

<sup>15</sup> Hermann *apud* Heyne (1809) 341 : ‘Nam si languida est et frigida ista repetitio, quod negari non potest: at alia sunt in Pindaro quae nescio an magis etiam frigeant’. For a summary of other unitarian arguments, see Boedeker (1895).



There were some who disagreed. However, their arguments were no less speculative than those of their opponents. Thus, Thiersch (1820) hypothesized that Pindar composed *Isth.* 3 as an outline in the immediate aftermath of the victory and later produced a more elaborate version of the song (i.e. *Isth.* 4) based on this outline, a highly unlikely suggestion given that the important Nemean victory is passed over in silence in what is supposed to be the final version. Bergk (1853), on the other hand, assumed that the two odes are independent and further speculated that each of them lost at least one triad in the course of transmission.<sup>16</sup> Finally, Schnitzer (1868) quite implausibly conjectured that *Isth.* 3 is an attempt by a later poet or grammarian to restore the lost proem of *Isth.* 4.<sup>17</sup>

Further debate on the subject was sparked by Bulle's (1869) suggestion that Melissos won at Nemea at the time when *Isth.* 4 was already complete, and that the poet, having no time for substantial revision, simply composed a shorter poem celebrating both victories together and appended it to the longer one.<sup>18</sup> The two odes, according to Bulle, may have been performed one after another—*quasi uno spiritu*—on the same festive occasion.

Part of the problem has been decisively resolved by Barrett, who observes that 'in Pindar's dactylo-epitrites a high proportion (about three-fifths) of the instances of x [i.e. light anceps] occur in the first triad of their poem, and there are (seven proper

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<sup>16</sup> Bergk (1853) 206: 'Neque tamen si haec separaveris, omnia bene inter se conveniunt: nam et carmen iv iusto caret prooemio, neque carminis iii institutum ita ut par est absolvitur'. A unitarian version of this view is adopted by Fennell (1883, 1899; *Isth.* 3/4.19 n.), who argues that metrical identity indicates that the two odes must be parts of the same poem and that only one triad was lost. The loss of the triad presumably caused the separation in *B.* Fennell 'reconstructs' the content of the missing verses as follows: 'Mortal men cannot hope for the abiding welfare of gods. They are enough blest by precarious prosperity, which indeed may be made more lasting by virtues such as those of the house whose praise I have to sing'.

<sup>17</sup> One is left wondering why an interpolator with such an exceptional knowledge of Pindaric meter and diction would fail to forge a better transition, and why he would invent a victory at Nemea which is not mentioned in the longer ode.

<sup>18</sup> Although initially Bulle's hypothesis came under attack from the unitarians, most notably Perthes (1871), it eventually became the standard explanation for almost a century.

names apart) scarcely any instances of short anceps in a triad later than the first without a corresponding instance in the first triad'.<sup>19</sup> The preponderance of light ancipitia in the opening triad of *Isth.* 4 leaves no doubt that it is the opening of an independent poem (*Isth.* 4.1-2):

Ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἑκατι μυρία παντᾶ κέλευθος,  
ὦ Μέλισσ', εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανας Ἴσθμίοις

-u-x-u-x-u---u-x  
-u-x-uu—uu-x-u-

The metrical evidence adduced by Barrett squares perfectly with the internal evidence of the text summarized above (pp. 2-5). Whatever the circumstances of performance and the reasons for metrical identity, the two odes must be considered independent.<sup>20</sup>

As they may offer some further insights into the problem, two recent studies deserve a brief mention here. The first, by Ian Rutherford (1997), is of some relevance to the issue of metrical identity. Rutherford, in collaboration with D'Alessio, has discovered that the London papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 841) containing the text of Pindar's *Paean* 6 (= Snell-Maehler, fr. 52f) preserves two fragmentary marginal scholia at the beginning of the third triad of the paean. These two scholia are plausibly reconstructed as follows:

Αἰγ[ινῆτα]ις  
εἰ]ς Αἰα[κὸν]

<sup>19</sup> Barrett (1956) 248. His views on the relationship between *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4 are now elaborated in a posthumously published paper (2007) 162-7.

<sup>20</sup> Reacting to Barrett's discovery, Lidov (1974) proposed a somewhat modified version of Bulle's hypothesis. He makes a good point that, although normally light ancipitia tend to cluster in the first triads of Pindar's odes, there are many odes that do not have this characteristic at all. The number of light ancipitia in the first triad of *Isth.* 4 is thus in a way anomalous and therefore may suggest that the poet is at pains to signal the beginning of the new poem under the circumstances when he has no other means to do so. What are these circumstances? According to Lidov, the relatively high number of short was the only way in which the poet could give 'a formal notice of a new beginning' in a continuous performance of two independent odes. The only problem with Lidov's argument is that he assumes that Pindar's audience must have been extremely sensitive to minute metrical details.

προσ[όδ]ι[ο]ν

*Prosodion* for the Aiginetans to Aiakos.

ἐν τῷ ᾧ [τ]ὼν προ[οσοδίω]ν φέρεται

Transmitted in the first book of the *Prosodia*.

This discovery is of tremendous importance for the interpretation of the paean, for it has been often noticed that the first two triads of the paean are thematically separate from the third: lines 1-122 contain the story of Neoptolemus and describe the ritual of Theoxenia, while lines 123-83 contain what looks like an encomium for Aegina. As reconstructed by Rutherford, the two marginal scholia open up three intriguing possibilities:

(a) Lines 1-122 and 123-83 were at first transmitted as a single poem but were subsequently separated by a later scholar on account of the marked difference in their content.

(b) The two parts were originally conceived as independent poems and were transmitted separately as a paean for the Delphians and as a prosodion for the Aiginetans respectively. Yet they were joined together by Hellenistic scholars on account of their metrical identity.

(c) The two parts circulated both as a single unit and also separately as a paean for the Delphians and a prosodion for the Aiginetans. According to this scenario, Pindar may have either composed the third triad as a supplement to the first or else he intended both parts to be performed one after another on the same occasion, where, for example, the first two triads could be sung by the chorus of the Delphians while the third by the Aeginetans.

Although none of this is certain, we must note that (b), if correct, offers a precise parallel for the separate transmission of the isomeric *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4, whereas (c) would be more in line with the compromise scenario proposed by Bulle.

The second study is by Thomas Cole (2003), who offers one of the most ingenious solutions to date. Cole argues that *Isth.* 3 is neither an independent ode nor a supplement to *Isth.* 4 but a modified version of its opening, which was designed to supplant the first triad of the longer poem after Melissos had been victorious in the chariot race at Nemea. He maintains that the second triad of *Isth.* 4 forms ‘a natural sequel to *Isthmian* 3’ and moreover ‘facilitates the understanding of what immediately precedes’, namely, the final gnome of *Isth.* 3.<sup>21</sup> Cole is convinced that, while the new opening somewhat changes the tone of the entire poem, it is perfectly integrated into the fabric of *Isth.* 4, which serves as ‘a striking indication of the poet’s mastery of his craft’.<sup>22</sup>

However, for all its ingenuity, this hypothesis leaves room for disagreement. Its main problem is that the second triad of *Isth.* 4—and in fact everything that follows—does not seem to be such a natural sequel to *Isth.* 3 as Cole would have us believe. The antistrophe and the epode of *Isth.* 3 concentrate on Melissos’ victory at Nemea and the preoccupation of his ancestors with horse racing. After the gnomic statement contrasting the unstable nature of human condition with the imperviousness of divine or semidivine beings,<sup>23</sup> we suddenly encounter Poseidon (*Isth.* 4.19), the patron god of the Isthmian games, where Melissos, as we are told in no uncertain terms later on, was victorious in the pankration (*Isth.* 4.44). Now this cannot be very easily dismissed. If Pindar decided to modify the proem of the ode originally composed for the victory at the Isthmos, why did he not bother to adjust the rest of the

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<sup>21</sup> Cole (2003) 247.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 252.

<sup>23</sup> For the identity of *παῖδες θεῶν*, see *Isth.* 3.18 n.

poem in order to better accommodate this new victory in the horse race? Or why did he not change the statement of the epinician program which appears in lines 44-5 so that it could also feature a reference to Nemea? Finally, what could possibly prevent the poet from writing an entirely new poem celebrating the two victories together? To answer these questions Cole has to rely on the old and completely speculative assumption that Pindar was running out of time and thus did the best he could under such circumstances. Needless to say that any explanation based on the 'evidence' of this kind is unlikely to carry widespread conviction.

If, then, the two poems are separate, how can we explain their metrical identity? The question has no certain answer, and any explanation, however plausible, is destined to remain a mere hypothesis. Nevertheless, as I hope to show in the following section, the explanations offered to us so far are more speculative and involved than they should be. A much simpler and more adequate solution lies close at hand.

## II. ISTHMIANS 3 AND 4: IMITATION AT THE SYMPOSIUM

### *Introduction*

Although most modern scholars are unanimous in considering the two poems as separate, it is hardly ever mentioned that this consensus is based upon the hypothesis of Theodore Bergk. In his effort to exonerate the poet from the charge of poetic *inopia*, Bergk suggested that the two odes must have been composed within a very short period of time.<sup>1</sup> His underlying assumption was that, if Melissos' Nemean victory in the chariot race had taken place immediately after his Isthmian victory in the pankration, the poet simply did not have enough time to compose a longer ode to celebrate this new achievement.<sup>2</sup> More recently, Bergk's idea was taken a step further by Privitera, who raised the intriguing possibility that by composing a shorter ode in the same meter the poet wanted to spare himself the trouble (and perhaps his patron the unwanted expense) of training a new chorus from scratch.<sup>3</sup> Despite the fact that Privitera's conjecture has been favorably received by modern scholars,<sup>4</sup> Willcock is certainly right to remind us that other options cannot be dismissed off-hand;<sup>5</sup> for it is just as possible that the victor was simply captivated by the tune of *Isth.* 4 and requested the new ode (*Isth.* 3) to be in some way reminiscent of the old one, or that for some unknown reason the poet himself wanted to remind the victor of the earlier celebration.

Proceeding along such interpretative lines, however, we will soon be forced to

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<sup>1</sup> Bergk (1853) 205-6: 'Attamen minus hoc [i.e. metrical identity] offendit, sed potius consulto est factum, quoniam in honorem eiusdem victoris haud dubie brevi intervallo et maius et minus carmen compositum est, ut nequaquam ingenii inopia exprobranda sit poetae'.

<sup>2</sup> For the relative chronology of Melissos' victories, see Intro I (pp. 2-3).

<sup>3</sup> Privitera (1978-9) 21.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., Currie (2004) 62, Carey (2007) 207.

<sup>5</sup> Willcock (1995) 70-1.

admit that the number of plausible extraneous factors is theoretically infinite; and in that case, we would do well to simply acknowledge the fact that various circumstances now beyond our reach might have played an important role in Pindar's decision. That said, the whole issue could be dismissed as hopelessly irrecoverable, were it not for one tiny shred of evidence which, to my knowledge, has remained unexploited. In *Nem.* 4.13-22 Pindar himself seems to refer to the phenomenon of metrical and verbal affinity between two or even more lyric compositions.

Recently, *Nem.* 4.13-22 has been discussed in relation to *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4 by Bruno Currie, who adds yet another layer of sophistication to Privitera's hypothesis. A closer look at Currie's argument will be necessary in order to highlight the problems of the passage and to justify an entirely new interpretation, one which can better explain the relation of *Isth.* 3 to *Isth.* 4, and which can shed light on some other longstanding issues in the corpus of Pindar and Bacchylides. It will be suggested that close metrical, thematic, and verbal affinities between different lyric poems can be more adequately explained by considering where and how these poems were performed rather than by postulating unusual external circumstances for which we have no direct evidence.

### ***Nem.* 4.13-22: Difficulties of Interpretation**

Pindar's *Fourth Nemean* ode celebrates the victory of Timasarchos, a boy wrestler from the island of Aigina, whose family, the Theandridai, were familiar with the art of music and poetry just as well as they were with the dust of the palaestra. Pindar tells us that Timasarchos' maternal grandfather Kallikles was once a successful athlete. His victories were celebrated in song by the boy's paternal grandfather, Euphanes. The father of Timasarchos, Timokritos, was also a musician and a poet, who unfortunately

did not live to witness his son's greatest achievement, the wrestling victory at Nemea.<sup>6</sup> Pindar deplores this fact in the following lines:

εἰ δ' ἔτι ζαμενεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἀλὶ  
 σὸς πατὴρ ἐθάλπεται, ποικίλον κιθαρίζων  
 θαμὰ κε, τῶδε μέλει κλιθεῖς,  
 υἱὸν κελάδησε καλλίνικον  
 Κλεωναίου τ' ἀπ' ἀγῶνος ὄρμον στεφάνων  
 πέμψαντα καὶ λιπαρᾶν  
 εὐωνύμων ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν, Θήβαις τ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοισ  
 οὐνεκ' Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἀγλαὸν παρὰ τύμβον  
 Καδμεῖοί νιν οὐκ ἀέκοντες ἄνθεσι μείγνυνον,  
 Αἰγίνας ἔκατι. (Nem. 4.13-22)

16 ὕμνον libri et Σ : υἱὸν *Bergk emendatione palmari, quam qui spernunt aut πέμψαντος* (ex apograph. cod. V, Σ Nem. 4.21c) aut πέμψαντι invehunt (e coniectura Pauwii) : ὕμνον κελάδη σε Mommsen : παῖδ' ἀγκελάδησε Fennell.<sup>7</sup>

And if your father Timokritos  
 were still warmed by the blazing sun, often would he have  
 played an elaborate tune on the lyre, and, relying on  
 this song, would have celebrated his triumphant son  
 for bringing a wreath of crowns from Kleonai's games  
 and from shining, famous Athens, and because in seven-gated Thebes  
 beside the glorious tomb of Amphitryon  
 the Kadmeians gladly crowned him with flowers,  
 on account of Aigina.

The passage poses a number of serious problems. First, almost all editors agree to substitute the MSS reading ὕμνον (16) with Bergk's υἱόν on the grounds that: (a) it is difficult to understand how Timokritos' song could have *sent* the crowns from the venues of his son's athletic victories; (b) another third person reference to the victor seems necessary in order to facilitate the transition from 'your father' (13 σὸς πατὴρ) to 'crowned him' (22 νιν ... ἄνθεσι μείγνυνον);<sup>8</sup> (c) if retained, ὕμνον must be a

<sup>6</sup> For the genealogy of the Theandridai, see Appendix A (a).

<sup>7</sup> The critical apparatus on line 16 is based on that of Schroeder (1900). The critical note in Snell-Maehler is not sufficiently informative about the problem.

<sup>8</sup> The reading of the manuscripts (i.e. ὕμνον) is retained by Snell-Maehler and Lefkowitz (1991) 194. Loscalzo (2003) 100 n. 45 deplores the general acceptance of υἱόν but offers no arguments in defense of the transmitted text.



reference to *Nem.* 4 and thus would pointlessly duplicate μέλει which also refers to *Nem.* 4. Second, it is not entirely clear what the phrase τῶδε μέλει κλιθείς (16) actually means. According to the consensus of scholarly opinion, it should mean ‘having attached himself to this song (*Nem.* 4)’, i.e. ‘having often reperformed it’,<sup>9</sup> with a number of recent critics seeing an allusion to the posture of a symposiast.<sup>10</sup> Interpreted in this way, the passage is frequently cited as evidence for monodic reperformance of epinician odes in the context of private symposia.<sup>11</sup>

Calling into question the sympotic aspect of this interpretation, Bruno Currie has recently endorsed Bergk’s *νίόν*, adducing Paus. 2.21.10 πρόσκειμαι ... τῇ Ὀμήρου ποιήσει (‘I am devoted to the poetry of Homer’, i.e. ‘I often recite it’) in support of the traditional explanation of τῶδε μέλει κλιθείς (‘reperforming this song’).<sup>12</sup> He argues that, given the absence of any literal connotations of ‘lying by’ or ‘upon’ in the use of πρόσκειμαι by Pausanias, ‘[t]he supposed image of ‘reclining’ in κλιθείς may ... be illusory’;<sup>13</sup> and, if so, there is no need to assume that the multiple reprises of *Nem.* 4 by Timokritos would have taken place in the context of the symposium. He also draws attention to Mullen’s suggestion that Timokritos is not described as a solo performer but rather as ἑξαρχος of a chorus.<sup>14</sup> Building upon these premises, Currie develops an intricate argument which needs to be followed closely, if its flaws and merits are to be clear.

<sup>9</sup> According to some scholars, this interpretation is supported by the paraphrase of the scholiast (Σ *Nem.* 4.21c συνεχῶς ἂν τούτῳ τῷ μέλει καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ᾠδῇ προσκλίνας ἂν ἑαυτὸν καὶ προσαγαγὼν ἀνευφήμησε καὶ ἀνεβάλετο τὴν γεγεννημένην νίκην. ‘Leaning against and attaching oneself to this melody and this song continuously, he would have celebrated and sung about the victory that took place’.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., Morgan (1993) 12, Clay (1999) 33 n. 20. For sympotic associations of κλιθείς, cf. *Ol.* 1.92 Ἀλφειοῦ πόρῳ κλιθείς (of Pelops ‘reclining’ in his tomb by the banks of Alpheos) and Gerber’s note on this line.

<sup>11</sup> Sympotic reperformance of Pindar’s song by Timokritos would closely correspond to Ar. *Clouds* 1354-56 πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν λύραν λαβόντ’ ἐγὼ κέλευσα | ᾄσαι Σιμωνίδου μέλος, τὸν Κριόν, ὡς ἐπέχθη, where Strepsiades asks Pheidippides to sing the song of Simonides (*PMG* 507).

<sup>12</sup> Currie (2004) 49-69. See LSJ, s.v. πρόσκειμαι II.2.

<sup>13</sup> Currie (2004) 57.

<sup>14</sup> Mullen (1982) 34.

Currie begins by examining the final stanza of *Nem.* 4, which contains a reference to yet another musician in the family, the victor's grandfather Euphanes:<sup>15</sup>

τὸν Εὐφάνης ἐθέλων γεραιὸς προπάτωρ  
†ὁ σὸς αἰέσεται, παῖ†.  
ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλικες ἄλλοι· τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ἀντιτύχῃ,  
ἐλπεταί τις ἑκαστος ἐξοχώτατα φάσθαι. (Nem. 4.89-92)

Him (i.e. Kallikles) will your aged grandfather Euphanes  
gladly celebrate in song, my boy.  
For people belong to different generations, and each man hopes  
to express best what he has himself encountered.

The text makes excellent sense, but the meter of line 90 is obviously flawed, as the sequence uuu-u-- corresponds to x-x-uu- in all other stanzas. Emendations which change the tense of the verb from the future αἰέσεται to the aorist ἄεισε(ν) are not particularly attractive since they are based on the assumption that Euphanes is already dead, which is not corroborated by anything in the text.<sup>16</sup> The only thing we know for sure is that Kallikles, Timasarchos' maternal grandfather and once himself a successful athlete, was dead at the time when *Nem.* 4 was composed:

κεῖνος ἀμφ' Ἀχέροντι ναιετάων ἐμάν  
γλῶσσαν εὐρέτω κελαδῆτιν, Ὀρσοτριάϊνα  
ἔν' ἐν ἀγῶνι βαρυκτύπου  
θάλησε Κορινθίοις σελίνους (Nem. 4.85-8)

Let him who dwells by Acheron  
find my voice ringing out, where,  
in the games of the deep-thundering Wielder of the Trident,  
he blossomed with Corinthian parsley.

Since Kallikles is reported to be dead, those who change αἰέσεται to ἄεισε(ν) assume that Euphanes must have been dead as well. However, such inference is not

<sup>15</sup> For the genealogy of the family, see Appendix A (a).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Hermann's σὸς ἄεισέν ποτε, παῖ printed by Snell-Maehler and Shackel's ἐο ἴς ἄεισε κ' ἔταις adopted recently by Burnett (2005) without offering any arguments to justify this decision. For other conjectures, see Gerber (1976) 107.

compelling. On the contrary, the adjective *γεραιός* (89) seems to make much better sense on the assumption that Euphanes was still alive.<sup>17</sup> Currie is, therefore, clearly right to opt for Mommsen's *ἀείσεται, παῖ, ὁ σός*, a transposition which neatly restores the meter and preserves the constituent parts of the verse.<sup>18</sup>

Drawing on the analogy of Pindar's *Nem.* 4 and its hypothetical reperformance by the victor's father, Timokritos, Currie suggests that the song of Euphanes was not of his own authorship but had been commissioned by the Theandridai from an unknown epinician poet one generation earlier.<sup>19</sup> He argues that '[t]he epinician of Kallikles which will be performed by Euphanes must be a reprise of an old song, which was supposed to premiere shortly after Kallikles' victory'.<sup>20</sup> Although there is no indication that the song of Euphanes was performed repeatedly on number of various occasion in the past, Currie assumes that it must have been often reperfomed and that its next reprise had been scheduled to take place on the same occasion as the performance of Pindar's *Nem.* 4. The future *ἀείσεται* (90), then, could be taken as a reference to a later performance within the same poetic programme.

So if not at a private banquet, where were these songs performed? Currie takes his cue from *Nem.* 4.35 ἔγγι δ' ἔλκομαι ἥτορ νεομηνία θιγέμεν, 'and by a love charm I am drawn in my heart to touch upon the new-moon'. Although the precise meaning of this line is unknown, many scholars have taken *νεομηνία* to refer to the

<sup>17</sup> This is based only on the gist of the entire passage, where there is no clear indication that Euphanes must be dead. The reference to his old age alone is not a decisive argument for his being alive, because it is not unusual for the dead to be described in terms of their age: e.g., Hom. *Od.* 11.38-9 νύμφαι τ' ἡἴθεοί τε πολύτλητοί τε γέροντες | παρθενικαί τ' ἀταλαὶ νεοπενθέα θυμὸν ἔχουσαι.

<sup>18</sup> Most recently this emendation has been accepted by Race (1997) and Henry (2005). One could still argue, though, that even if the future tense of the verb is retained, the performance of the victory ode for Kallikles is going to take place in the underworld. This is not impossible, but again there is nothing in the text to justify this assumption.

<sup>19</sup> For a similar state of affairs, compare Pindar's *Ol.* 13 and the epinician of Simonides (*SLG* 339, 340) written for the son and the father respectively. See Barrett (1978) 1-20.

<sup>20</sup> Currie (2004) 60.

local Aiginetan new-moon festival as a possible performance setting for *Nem.* 4.<sup>21</sup>

The passage is used by Currie to rule out the idea that the performance of both songs was an entirely private affair. In a rather circular way, he finds his conclusions to be supported by Mullen's remark that Timokritos could have acted as leader of a chorus rather than as a solo performer.<sup>22</sup>

To recap, Currie's main points are as follows. (a) Pindar composed a song for Timasarchos which would have been often reperformed (τῶδε μέλει κλιθείς) by his father if he were alive. (b) A generation earlier another poet had composed an epinician for the victor's maternal grandfather, Kallikles. This old epinician song was scheduled to be reperformed on the occasion of the premiere of *Nem.* 4. Finally, (c) if Timokritos were still alive, both poems would continue to be reperformed as a part of the same poetic programme in the context of the Aiginetan public festival. It is in this light that Currie invites us to consider *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4.

As mentioned earlier, Privitera has argued that the metrical identity of the two odes can be explicated on the assumption that 'the same chorus was meant to perform both odes at the minimum of training and expense'.<sup>23</sup> From Currie's point of view, this hypothesis becomes even more attractive if we consider the possibility that *Isth.* 4, much like the old song of Euphanes, 'was scheduled for (regular) choral re-performance', and that the more recently commissioned *Isth.* 3 was 'performed by the same chorus on the same occasion alongside the earlier ode'.<sup>24</sup> So far as their performance context is concerned, the two odes were probably performed (and perhaps reperformed) at the festival of the Theban Herakleia mentioned at *Isth.* 4.61-8,

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<sup>21</sup> This interpretation is accepted by most modern commentators: e.g., Willcock (1995), Race (1997), Henry (2005).

<sup>22</sup> To believe that choral performance was always a public event, whereas solo performance was always private/sympotic would be a gross oversimplification. I cannot find a shred of evidence preventing us from assuming that either setting could feature both choral and solo singing.

<sup>23</sup> Currie (2004) 62.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

a context which seems to be analogous to the Aiginetan new-moon festival.<sup>25</sup>

On closer examination, Currie's argument does not stand up to scrutiny. First, there is no good reason to believe that the song of Euphanes is just a reprise of some other poet's composition. The whole idea hangs on a rather flimsy premise that since Timokritos' performance involves a song by another poet (i.e. Pindar) so does that of Euphanes, even though nothing to this effect can be extrapolated from *Nem.* 4.89-92. In fact, all we are told there is that Euphanes will celebrate Kallikles in song (80-90 τὸν Εὐφάνησ ... | ... ἀείσεται). Second, it is likewise not imperative to assume that this song, regardless of its authorship, must have premiered while the honorand, Kallikles, was still alive. That Euphanes could compose and perform an epinician in honor of a dead relative is quite possible, especially given the example of Pindar's *Isth.* 2, an ode composed for the honorand who is dead. Third, it is not at all certain that *Nem.* 4.35 ὕγγι δ' ἔλκομαι ἡτορ νεομηνία θιγέμεν alludes to the new-moon festival or any other kind of public event. As suggested by Von der Mühl, νεομηνία θιγέμεν might be an idiomatic expression akin to κατόπιν ἐορτῆς ἦκειν 'to be too late for a party' (cf. Pl. *Grg.* 447a), with νεομηνία standing for 'Fest schlechthin', i.e. celebration or party in general.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, even if we concede the point that the line refers to some sort of public event, there is still no reason to believe that both *Nem.* 4 and the song of Euphanes must have been performed in that context. Finally, it must be noted that Currie's argument is not rendered any more plausible by his circular appeal to Mullen's view of Timokritos as a chorus leader, an interpretation supported by no evidence. All these objections should make it fairly clear that Currie's hypothesis does not render Privitera's conjectural reconstruction of the external

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<sup>25</sup> The hypothesis, elaborated in much detail by Krummen (1990) 33-94, is by no means certain. For a more detailed discussion of the problems involved, see Intro 4.

<sup>26</sup> Von der Mühl (1959) 128ff. = (1976) 196ff. His argument seems to be misrepresented by Burnett (2005) 128 n.16 and Currie (2004) 61 n.50, who think that he takes νεομηνία as a reference to a specific festival.

circumstances of *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4 any more convincing than it already is. While it is indeed possible that Pindar had to deploy the same chorus to perform both odes and that the phenomenon of metrical identity had something to do with that, the assumption is bound to remain a mere guess, for we are not even sure that Pindar used any chorus at all. The idea of choral performance of epinician odes is no longer an uncontroversial tenet of Pindar studies.<sup>27</sup>

The overall weakness of Currie's argument, however, does not detract from the significance of the passage on which it is based. What if the song of Timokritos was not simply a reprise of *Nem.* 4, as Currie and all modern scholars seem to think, but an independent poetic composition or even a number of compositions involving a certain amount of verbal and musical affinity to Pindar's ode? The only way to show why this scenario is preferable is to reexamine the passage more carefully than it has been done before, testing the validity of interpretative and editorial decisions which underlie the modern *communis opinio*.

### ***Nem.* 4.13-22 Reconsidered**

Let us start with Bergk's *υῖόν* and the arguments in its favor (see above). First, the expression *ὑμνον κελάδησε καλλίνικον* (16), considered on its own, is beyond suspicion.<sup>28</sup> Second, there also seem to be no particular problem with the metaphor implied by *ὑμνον ... | ... ὄρμον στεφάνων | πέμψαντα*. Consider, for example, the following passage:

<sup>27</sup> Cf. e.g. Davies (1988), Heath (1988), Lefkowitz (1991), Heath and Lefkowitz (1991), who make a case for solo performance. The question, however, still awaits solution. It seems possible that some odes were performed by a chorus while others by a solo performer. We simply cannot determine which of the ode belongs to which category.

<sup>28</sup> For *ὑμνον κελάδησε*, cf. *Ol.* 11.13-14 *κόσμον ἐπὶ στεφάνῳ χρυσέας ἐλαίας | ἄδυμελῇ κελαδήσω*, Pind. fr. 52h.10 *κελαδήσαθ' ὑμνους*, fr. 128e.2-3 *ἰάλεμον κελαδήσατε*. For *ὑμνον ... καλλίνικον*, cf. *Ol.* 9.2 *καλλίνικος* (i.e. *ὑμνος*), *Pyth.* 5.106-7 *τὸ καλλίνικον ... | μέλος*, Eur. *El.* 865 *καλλίνικον ὠιδάν*.

λάμβανέ οἱ στέφανον, φέρε δ' εὖμαλλον μίτραν,  
καὶ πτερόεντα νέον σύμπεμβον ὕμνον. (Isth. 5.62-3)

Take up the crown for him (i.e. Pytheas), and bring the chaplet of fine wool, and dispatch along this winged new song.

The poem ends with a series of injunctions to crown the victor's elder brother Pytheas and to offer him a new song.<sup>29</sup> The identity of the addressee has been much debated, as there are a four possible candidates: the Muse, Aigina, the poet, or the chorus.<sup>30</sup> As shown by Silk, none of these options can be ruled out, and the ambiguity is probably deliberate. Comparing the closure of *Nem.* 5,<sup>31</sup> he suggests that the 'call to celebrate the older and earlier achiever is to be heard by the inspiring Muse [...], the performing chorus, and the creating poet [...], all of whom cooperate in the collaborative moment'.<sup>32</sup>

However, regardless of the identity of the addressee, it is fairly clear that the crown and the fillet, which are to be sent along with the new song, have nothing to do with real, tangible symbols of athletic victory, as the scholiast rightly saw (Σ *Isth.* 5.78 στέφανον μὲν τὸν ἐπίνικον λέγει). Epinician poets are famously the weavers of victory crown-songs and heralds who place these crowns upon the heads of the victors.<sup>33</sup> These metaphoric crowns are dispatched and dedicated by the very act of epinician performance, which, among other things, aims to recreate for the victor the apogee of

<sup>29</sup> The ending of *Isth.* 5 is discussed by Silk (1998) 25-88 with stunning thoroughness. His argument conclusively demonstrates that the referent of οἱ must be Pytheas.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Σ *Isth.* 6.78 οἱ μὲν τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὴν Αἰγινὰν φασιν εἶναι· ὑποδέχου αὐτῷ τὸν στέφανον· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Μοῦσαν. καὶ στέφανον μὲν τὸν ἐπίνικον λέγει, εὖμαλλον δὲ μίτραν τὴν ταινίαν τὴν ἐξ ἐρίου ξανθοῦ τοῖς στεφάνοις προσπλεκομένην. 'Some say the reference is to Aigina: 'Receive the crown for him!' Others take it to refer to the Muse. He calls his song στέφανος, whereas the ταινία of yellow wool attached to the crown he calls εὖμαλλος δὲ μίτρα'. Hubbard (2004) 90 also suggests that 'the second-person here is a generalized address to anyone who hears or receives a copy of the ode to pass it on to others and thereby participate in a metaphorical reenactment of the victors' crowning'.

<sup>31</sup> *Nem.* 5.50-54 εἰ δ' ἐ θεμίστιον ἔκεις ὥστ' ἀείδειν, μηκέτι ῥίγει· δίδου | φωνάν, ἀνὰ δ' ἰστία τείνον πρὸς ζυγὸν καρχασίου, | πύ κταν τέ νιν καὶ παγκρατίου φθέγγξαι ἐλεῖν Ἐπιδαύρῳ διπλόαν | νικῶντ' ἀρετάν, προθύροισιν δ' Αἰακοῦ | ἀνθέων ποι<άε>ντα φέρε στεφανώματα σὺν ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν.

<sup>32</sup> Silk (1998) 77.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Ol.* 2.74, 6.86-87, *Nem.* 7.77, 8.15, *Isth.* 8.65b, *Bacch.* 5.9-13, 13.221-2, 17.114, 19.5-10.

his athletic achievement, the ceremony of coronation.<sup>34</sup> In other words, there is no distinction between the crown, the fillet, and the song in the last two lines of *Isth.* 5. Paraphrased in plain prose, the tripartite exhortation amounts to little more than ‘sing a victory song for Pytheas’,<sup>35</sup> which is reminiscent of similar closural self-exhortations in Pindar.<sup>36</sup>

The distinction between the song and the string of crowns in *Nem.* 4.16-18 is no less artificial, the main difference being that the song of Timokritos is described as a vehicle for metaphoric crowns. The interpretation of *πέμφαντα* is critical. The song of Timokritos would not have ‘sent’ the crowns but, as suggested long ago by Dissen, would have ‘delivered’ (LSJ III 1 s.v.) them from the venues of the games to Aigina.<sup>37</sup> The passage seems to be a variation on a familiar epinician *topos* of the journey of the poetic discourse from the site of the games to the place of celebration.<sup>38</sup> The meaning of *πέμπω* and the metaphor of a song as a vehicle are closely paralleled in the celebrated passage of Theognis:

οὐδέποτ' οὐδέ θανὼν ἀπολείς κλέος, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις  
ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα,  
Κύρνε, καθ' Ἑλλάδα γῆν στρωφώμενος, ἦδ' ἀνὰ νήσους  
ἰχθυόεντα περὼν πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον,  
οὐχ ἵππων νώτοισιν ἐφήμενος· ἀλλὰ σε πέμψει  
ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων. (245-50)

You will never lose your fame, even when you are dead,  
but being always on people's minds your name will live forever,  
Kyrnos, as you roam the mainland Greece and the islands

<sup>34</sup> ‘Non igitur cogitandum est de hymno alio una misso neque de corona addita, sed haec ipsa verba sunt instar coronae hymnique ... ipsis illis verbis praestans quod promittit’ (Dissen).

<sup>35</sup> I do not agree with Silk that οἶον is to be construed only with λάμβανέ ... στέφανον, φέρε δ' εὐμαλλον μίτρην, to the exclusion of σύμπεμψον ὕμνον. I also cannot accept his argument that σῶμαμπεμψον means ‘send the song on its way, complete with its tribute to Pytheas, as well as (σύμ-) its commemoration of Phylacidas’. The song is sent *with* the crown and the headband because the song is both of these things (‘send the new song *along with* the crown and the headband’).

<sup>36</sup> E.g., *Nem.* 2.25 ἀδυμελεῖ δ' ἐξάρχετε φωνᾷ.

<sup>37</sup> Fennell's objection that ‘one hymn could hardly be mentioned as accompanying two or three victories unless it were the ode in progress’ is simply incomprehensible.

<sup>38</sup> Most (1985) 34.



passing through the barren sea full of fish  
not on horseback, but carried  
by the splendid gifts of the violet-crowned Muses.

Although ὕμνον ... | ... ὄρμον στεφάνων | πέμψαντα appears to make excellent sense, there is still the difficulty of the abrupt shift from the second (14 σὸς πατήρ) to the third person (21 νῦν) narrative in reference to the victor. To what extent is this permissible, if at all? Two Pindaric passages may shed some light on this question:

ἐλᾷ δὲ καὶ τέσσαρας ἀρετάς  
<ὁ> θνατὸς αἰών, φρονεῖν δ' ἐνέπει τὸ παρκεῖμενον.  
τῶν οὐκ ἄπεστι. χαῖρε, φίλος κτλ. (Nem. 3.74-6)

ἄπεστι codd : ἄπεσσι Bergk

Then too, our mortal life drives a team of  
four virtues, and bids us heed what is at hand.  
Of these he has no lack. Farewell, friend etc.

Although Bergk's conjecture has been accepted by quite a few scholars,<sup>39</sup> it does not seem to be necessary. The context makes it sufficiently clear that both verbs refer to the victor. Dissen's comment is much to the point: '[t]ertia persona qua supra usus erat poeta, utitur etiam hic, quia haec cum antecedentibus cohaerent' (i.e. with lines 67-8, where Aristokleidas is referred to in the third person).<sup>40</sup>

A much more difficult case is *Nem.* 5.41-6:

τὸ δ' Αἰγίναθε δῖς, Εὐθύμενες,  
Νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πίτνων  
ποικίλων ἔβανσας ὕμνων.  
ἦτοι μεταίξαις σὲ καὶ νῦν τεὸς μάτρως ἀγάλλει  
κείνου ὁμόσπορον ἔθνος, Πυθέα.  
ἂ Νεμέα μὲν ἄραρεν  
μείς τ' ἐπιχώριος, ὃν φίλησ' Ἀπόλλων·  
ἄλικας δ' ἐλθόντας οἴκοι τ' ἐκράτει  
Νίσου τ' ἐν εὐαγκεῖ λόφῳ.

<sup>39</sup> E.g., Mezger (1880), Christ (1896), Wilamowitz (1922), 279 n. 2, Snell-Maehler.

<sup>40</sup> Dissen (1821) 378.

Euthymenes, twice from Aigina  
 did you fall into Victory's arms  
 and enjoy elaborate hymns.  
 Indeed, Pytheas, now too your maternal uncle, following  
 in your footsteps, glorifies that hero's kindred race.  
 Nemea stands firm for him,  
 as well as the local month that Apollo loved.  
 He defeated those of his age who came to compete at home  
 and at Nisos' hill with its lovely glens.

There are several detailed discussions of the passage which allow me to spare much unnecessary detail.<sup>41</sup> For the purposes of the argument, suffice it to say that much confusion is caused by the shifts between the third and the second person references to the boy victor Pytheas and his maternal uncle Euthymenes. First, the poet addresses Euthymenes in the second person (41 τὸν). Then, he unexpectedly refers to him in the third person (43 ἦτοι μεταίξαις σὲ καὶ νῦν τεὸς μάτρως ἀγάλλει), now apostrophizing his nephew, Πυθέα (44).<sup>42</sup> Next, he moves on into a short catalogue of victories achieved at Nemea (44), Aigina (45), and Megara (46). Who was the victor in all of these venues? Is it Euthymenes or Pytheas? At first sight, it seems quite natural to assume that ἐκράτει (45) refers to Euthymenes since he is the last person mentioned in the third person. However, as plausibly argued by Pfeijffer, the subject of ἐκράτει in line 45 is more likely to be Pytheas because ἀλικας (45) would make better sense only in relation to his age category (ἀγένειος). If Pfeijffer is right, it may be of some interest that both in *Nem.* 4.13-22 and in *Nem.* 5.41-6 the switch from the second to the third person narrative occurs in the catalogue of victories following the second person address. Even if one remains unconvinced by Pfeijffer's argument,<sup>43</sup> we still have a very clear case of the shift between second and third person narrative in the immediately preceding lines referring to Euthymenes (*Nem.* 5.41-3).

<sup>41</sup> Carey (1989) 290-5, Pfeijffer (1999) 172-5, 605-13, Fenno (2005), 294-311, Fearn (2007) 344-7.

<sup>42</sup> The vocative is restored by Mingarelli from the scholion (*Σ Nem.* 5.78c ἔνιοι γράφουσι Πυθέας), which shows that Πυθέα must have been the ancient vulgate.

<sup>43</sup> As, for example, is Fearn (2007) 344-7.

Since the transmitted text contains conventional poetic ideas and recognizably Pindaric syntax, recourse to textual emendation seems unwarranted. Our task, then, is to interpret the passage on its own terms. For the sake of convenience, I quote it again, this time with the reading of the MSS restored:

εἰ δ' ἔτι ζαμενεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἀλίῳ  
 σὸς πατήρ ἐθάλπετο, ποικίλον κιθαρίζων  
 θαμά κε, τῷδε μέλει κλιθείς,  
 ὕμνον κελάδησε καλλίνικον  
 Κλεωναίου τ' ἀπ' ἀγῶνος ὄρμον στεφάνων  
 πέμψαντα καὶ λιπαρᾶν  
 εὐωνύμων ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν, Θήβαις τ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοισι  
 οὔνεκ' Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἀγλαὸν παρὰ τύμβον  
 Καδμεῖοί νιν οὐκ ἀέκοντες ἀνθεσι μείγνυνον,  
 Αἰγίνας ἔκατι. (Nem. 4.13-22)

And if your father Timokritos  
 were still warmed by the blazing sun, often would he have  
 played an elaborate tune on the lyre, and, relying on  
 this song, would have sung a victory song  
 which would transport a wreath of crowns from Kleonai's games  
 and from shining, famous Athens, and because in seven-gated Thebes  
 beside the glorious tomb of Amphitryon  
 the Kadmeians gladly crowned him with flowers,  
 on account of Aigina.

The meaning of τῷδε μέλει κλιθείς in line 15, however, remains unclear. A satisfactory interpretation will have to be successful in addressing two questions. First, it is important to identify what kind of metaphor, if any, is implied by κλιθείς. Second, it is equally important to be absolutely clear as to what the actual meaning of the metaphor is; in other words, what is it exactly that Timokritos would have done with 'this μέλος' if he had been alive to celebrate his son's victories? Commentators offer a number of interpretations which can be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) 'Applying himself to this song', i.e. 'performing this song (= Nem. 4)', which is prompted by Σ Nem. 4.21c συνεχῶς ἂν τούτῳ τῷ μέλει καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ᾠδῇ προσκλίνας ἂν ἑαυτὸν καὶ προσαγαγὼν ἀνευφήμησε καὶ ἀνεβάλετο τὴν γεγεννημένην νίκην. There are

two versions of this interpretation. (a) Currie compares the use of *πρόσκειμαι* + dat. ('to be devoted to'). (b) Henry, dissatisfied with the scholiast's *προσκλίνας*, quotes Theoc. 21.61-2 *ῥεῖδε | τὰν γνώμαν*, 'fix your mind on'. Both, however, agree that Timokritos would have reperformed the entire text of *Nem.* 4.

(2) 'Leaning on this song', a metaphor alluding to the posture of the symposiast (Morgan, Clay).<sup>44</sup>

(3) 'Resting on this song', in effect comparing the singer to a commemorative stele resting on a base (Greengard).<sup>45</sup>

(4) 'Relying on this song' (Slater s.v. *κλίνω*, followed by Race).

(5) 'Accompanying my song on the kithara' (Mezger).

(6) 'Leaning against such a strain' (Bury), suggesting that Timokritos would have played in Lydian mood (cf. *Nem.* 4.44-5 *ἐξύφαινε, γλυκεῖα, καὶ τόδ' ἀντίκα, φόρμυγξ, Λυδίαι σὺν ἁρμονίαι μέλος*).

(7) 'Bending the while over this strain' (Sandys), alluding to the posture of a musician playing the instrument.

(8) 'Bowed by the spell of my melody', as if by a spell (Farnell).

(9) 'Pinned down to the ground by this song' (Williams), a metaphor from combat sports.<sup>46</sup>

A few remarks are in order. It must be noted that there is no agreement as to the meaning of *μέλει*. Some scholars, wittingly or unwittingly, adopt the scholiast's equation of *τῶδε μέλει* with *ταύτη τῇ ᾠδῇ*, taking it as a reference to Pindar's *Nem.* 4, while others implicitly reject it, taking *μέλει* in a more narrow sense 'melody' or 'tune' (LSJ B 3 s.v.). The difference is a very important one, and we will return to this question shortly. In the meantime, let us examine the available explanations in

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<sup>44</sup> See n. 10 above.

<sup>45</sup> Greengard (1980) 44.

<sup>46</sup> Williams (1976).

more detail.

(1) Paraphrase of simple verbs by means of compounds is of a typical feature of scholiastic exegesis. Yet, while compounds sometimes do cover the same range of meanings as corresponding simple verbs, it is misleading to equate them indiscriminately. The use of *προσκλίνω* in the sense ‘to attach oneself to smth. or smb.’ is late and semantically different from the construction of the simplex with the dative, which is not attested in the same figurative sense.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, it is unclear why the phrase ‘applying himself to this song’ must suggest reperformance of *Nem.* 4 rather than any other form of poetic dependence (e.g., inspiration, imitation etc.). Although Paus. 2.21.10 *πρόσκειμαι ... τῇ Ὀμήρου ποιήσει* (‘I am devoted to the poetry of Homer’, i.e. ‘I recite it often’), adduced by Currie, does take care of this particular problem, it is still liable to the objections mentioned above, i.e. the usage is both late and semantically distinct; the notion of ‘lying close by’ (*πρόσκειμαι*) is different from that of ‘inclining towards’ (*προσκλίνω*), while both are clearly distinct from the idea of ‘resting upon’ (*κλίνω*).<sup>48</sup> We can thus sympathize with Henry’s qualms regarding *προσκλίνω*, but his own parallel (Theoc. 21.61-2 *ὦ ξένε, λοιπὸν ἔρειδε | τὰν γνώμαν* ‘apply your mind’) does not clinch the problem either. The basic meaning of *ἐρείδω* + acc. + dat. is ‘to prop smth. against smth.’ or ‘to firmly fix smth. in smth.’. Used figuratively, the verb expresses the notion of ‘paying close attention to smth. or smb.’. However, this use of *ἐρείδω* is also considerably late, and it is doubtful that *ἐρείδω* can tell us anything about Pindar’s *κλιθεῖς*. Moreover, even if we accept that Timokritos would have applied himself (or his mind) to ‘this μέλος’ in the same sense as Theocritus’ fisherman applies his judgment to the interpretation of the strange dream,

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<sup>47</sup> Hence a separate entry in LSJ just for this passage. Plb. 30.13.2 *τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπὶ Πωμαίων κεκλιότων* cited in the brackets as an example of the same usage in the active is hardly parallel at all, for it implies the image of the scales.

<sup>48</sup> Although *κλίνω* + dat. can in principle mean ‘to slope towards’ (i.e. ‘to lie by’, ‘to live by’; cf. LSJ II 5 s.v.), this usage seems to be restricted to the descriptions of geographical locations.

it is still uncertain why we need to assume reperformance of *Nem.* 4 rather than some other kind of poetic relationship.

(2) The idea that *κλιθείς* refers to the posture of a symposiast, rather hastily dismissed by Currie, does more justice to the semantics of the construction ('reclining on') than any parallel offered by those who believe that *κλίνω* is equivalent to *προσκλίνω*. However, it too ultimately fails to tackle the most important questions: How do we get from 'leaning on this song' to 'performing it'? How does the metaphor work? Are there any examples where the idea of reclining on smth. is tantamount to repeating it word for word? Unfortunately, none of these questions are adequately addressed.

(3) Greengard's suggestion that 'the strange phrase *τῷδε μέλει κλιθείς* (15) is intended as a play on the idea of the song as a metaphoric stele in the later section of the poem (81)' has much to commend itself because it takes into account Pindar's penchant for describing poetic discourse using the terminology of crafts and architecture. But again the main question is left unanswered. If Pindar envisions his *μέλος* as the base on which either Timokritos or his song would have rested, what does this image tell us about the relationship between the songs of Timokritos and Pindar?

(4) Slater's 'relying on this song' is the translation that I myself consider the most adequate. However, since neither Slater himself nor Race offer any explanation as to what they think the phrase must mean in the context, I cannot be sure that we consider it to be correct for the same reasons. First, there seem to be no examples of *κλίνω* used in the sense 'to rely', and we definitely need provide at least some justification. Second, the English word 'rely' clearly suggests some sort of dependency. However, dependency of one poet on another can manifest itself in more than one way. In precisely what sense Timokritos would have been dependant on

Pindar's μέλος is unfortunately something that neither Slater nor Race make clear.

(5) Mezger's claim that Timokritos was only a musician accompanying the performance of *Nem.* 4 on his lyre, is not supported by any arguments or lexical parallels whatsoever. This view is somewhat modified by Bury (6), who argues that Timokritos would have played in Lydian mood. However, Bury's argument has very little substance behind it. It is based on a non-parallel *Od.* 6.307 κίονι κεκλιμένη (of Arete leaning against the pillar) and a brief statement ('[t]he words and the music mutually support each other') involving a *non sequitur*, for, if we consider it to be true, we must expect Timokritos to 'lean' his words against Pindar's melody rather than to 'lean' his own melody against that of Pindar. Positions (7), (8), and (9) are no less arbitrary. Sandys does not provide any explanation or parallels, while Farnell only quotes Soph. *Ant.* 1188 ὑπτία δὲ κλίνομαι ('I fall back'), which has nothing to do with magical spells. Finally, Williams offers no parallels for his suggestion that κλιθεῖς involves a wrestling metaphor and in fact ends up abandoning it altogether.

Under these circumstances there are only two options: we may either grudgingly choose among the first four interpretations, thus essentially sidestepping the problem, or we may continue to explore other possibilities. One of them seems to emerge from an undeservedly neglected discussion of the passage by Thomas Cole, who argues that 'Pindar offers the opening lines of his poem as a comastic introduction (*prokomion*) – a musico-poetic sequence (*melos*) "basing himself" on which [...] Timasarchos' father, Timocritos, would have sung the victories of his son on many occasions – were he only alive to see them'.<sup>49</sup> The argument leads to some interesting conclusions and needs to be examined in more detail.

Cole's approach is that of a thoroughgoing historicist. Central to his argument is the assumption that 'there may have been a certain amount of

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<sup>49</sup> Cole (1992) 97-9.

resentment that a *xenios* rather than an *oikeios* had been given the task of celebrating the victory of Timasarchus' (97-8). On this interpretation, the purpose of Pindar's compliments to Timokritos (*Nem.* 4.13-22) and Euphanes (*Nem.* 4.89-92) was to allay the hostility that was felt by the members of the Theandrid family. The assumption is based entirely on the inference from the text, to which it is reapplied in a circular fashion. This, however, does not have to bother us at the moment. More important is how Cole interprets the problematic passage itself. He assumes that the word *προκώμιον* in line 11 and the phrase *τῷδε μέλει* have the same referent, i.e. the end-stopped first stanza of the ode describing the marvelous healing effects of *εὐφροσύνα*. He further observes that the proem of *Nem.* 4 is not typically Pindaric because its contents are confined to generalities, a practice which he argues is observed only in *Isth.* 3 and *Ol.* 12. According to Cole, the unusual form of the opening of *Nem.* 4 makes it 'the sort of thing which Timokritos himself might have been in the habit of using as a regular beginning or "basis" for his songs'.<sup>50</sup> The proem is a thematically and syntactically complete unit coinciding exactly with the first stanza of the monostrophic ode. The fact encourages Cole to speculate that its 'rhythm and melody (*melos*) could have served the basis as well, by virtue of their being repeated over and over in the subsequent stanzas composed on various occasions to fit the particulars of the moment'.<sup>51</sup> In support of his proposition, he compares the use of oratorical proems functioning as 'reusable introductions'. In short, he thinks that what Pindar tries to do is to remind his audience of the victor's dead father, Timokritos, by incorporating or imitating the words and the music of a typical Timokritean proem.

At this point, one important consequence of Cole's argument needs to be

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.



emphasized. By using one proem and one melody as the ‘basis’ for his own songs over and over again, it appears that Timokritos was in the habit of composing metrically similar or identical songs for various occasions. If this is the case, Pindar’s attempt to give voice to the victor’s dead father by adopting his methods of composition must inevitably suggest that *Nem.* 4 is metrically and/or verbally similar to one or a number of songs by Timokritos. That this point is relevant for the question of the relationship between *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4 obvious, since Cole’s hypothesis opens up the fascinating, if speculative, possibility that metrical identity/affinity of lyric compositions, as exemplified by *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4, was not a unique phenomenon in the song culture of Archaic and Classical Greece.

However, some questions and doubts persist. I have already expressed my skepticism about Cole’s idea that Pindar tries to reconcile himself with those of the Theandridai who were dissatisfied with Timasarchos’ decision to commission a poem from a foreigner. I will now also comment on certain problems inherent in his analysis of the text.

To begin, it is surprising how easily Cole manages to get by without even touching upon the vexed problem of *κλιθείς*. He does not waste any time justifying his translation (‘basing himself upon’). Instead, he tacitly assumes that ‘to base oneself on a μέλος’ means to use it as an introduction. The assumption is not entirely far-fetched because in Greek poetry the opening of poetic discourse can be described in terms of architectural foundations. To lay the foundations of a poem or a speech often means to begin singing or speaking.<sup>52</sup> However, in that case μέλος would present a serious problem since the word is never used in such an unusually restricted sense as ‘proem’.

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<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Pyth.* 4.136-38 *μαλθακῇ φωνῇ ποτιστάζων ὄαρον | βάλλετο κρηπίδα σοφῶν ἐπέων· ||| Παῖ Ποσειδᾶνος Πετραίου, Pyth.* 7.3-4 *Κάλλιστον αἱ μεγαλοπόλιες Ἀθᾶναι | προοίμιον Ἀλκμανιδᾶν εὐρυσθενεῖ | γενεῇ κρηπιδ’ αἰοιδᾶν ἵπποισι βαλέσθαι, fr.* 194 *κεκρότῃται χρυσέα κρηπὶς ἱεραῖσιν αἰοδαῖς· | εἶα τειχίζωμεν ἤδη ποικίλον | κόσμον αὐδάεντα λόγων, Eur. Hel.* 164 *καταβαλλομένα μέγαν οἶκτον, Cal.* fr. 196 *γάμον καταβάλλομ’ αἶδειν.*

It can either mean ‘this song as a whole’ or ‘this melody’. Cole favors the second, thus falling between two interpretive stools because, according to his own argument, ‘this μέλος’ implies both the proem and its melody. It remains unclear how this view can be justified.

Second, the idea that Timokritos would use one proem in a number of songs composed on various occasions is a little short of incredible. Besides the fact that the practice is simply unknown elsewhere in lyric poetry, it is hard to imagine what could possibly be the reason for repeated use of only one proem. Cole’s suggestion that the opening of *Nem.* 4 is meant to remind the audience of Timokritos or that it is perhaps even borrowed from him wholesale is not satisfactory either. It stems from the assumption that Pindar usually avoids generalities elsewhere in his proems, an obvious case of special pleading, as Cole himself must have realized comparing the general content in the openings of *Isth.* 3 and *Ol.* 12, to which one should also add *Ol.* 7 and *Ol.* 11. The fact that a similarly general gnomic proem appears in *Bacch.* 14, in my view, is sufficient to demonstrate that this kind of proemial technique cannot be seen as the hallmark of ‘Timokritean’ composition.

Despite the fact that Cole’s argument is circular and at times rather haphazard, it is very important insofar as it questions the completely unfounded assumption that Timokritos would have performed the entire text of *Nem.* 4 on multiple occasions. However, as I hope to have shown above, his own hypothesis is too problematic to provide us with a satisfactory solution. What other options do we have? I suggest that we return to the text, starting with the discussion of the word μέλει in line 15 and keep in mind the possibility of metrical identity/affinity already raised by Cole.

As pointed out by Koller, the word μέλος in Greek can have four different shades of meaning when used of musical or poetic performance.<sup>53</sup> All four are

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<sup>53</sup> Koller (1965) 24-38.

conveniently exemplified in Plato: (a) ‘song’ as a whole consisting of words, music, and rhythm: cf. *Rep.* 398d ὅτι τὸ μέλος ἐκ τριῶν ἐστὶν συγκεῖμενον, λόγου τε καὶ ἁρμονίας καὶ ῥυθμοῦ, (b) ‘melody’, as distinct from words and rhythm: cf. *Rep.* 400a πόδα τῷ τοῦ τοιούτου λόγῳ ἀναγκάζειν ἔπασθαι καὶ τὸ μέλος, ἀλλὰ μὴ λόγον ποδὶ τε καὶ μέλει, (c) ‘lyric song’, as a musical and poetic genre distinct from epic, tragedy etc.: cf. *Rep.* 379a οἶος τυγχάνει ὁ θεὸς ὢν, αἰὲ δῆπου ἀποδοτέον, ἑάντε τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἔπεσιν ποιῇ ἑάντε ἐν μέλεσιν ἑάντε ἐν τραγωδίᾳ; (d) ‘mode’, ‘key’ = ἁρμονία: cf. *Rep.* 398c οὐκοῦν μετὰ τοῦτο, ἦν δ’ ἐγώ, τὸ περὶ ᾧδῆς τρόπου καὶ μελῶν λοιπόν.

Let us proceed by narrowing down the choices. Option (c) can be eliminated right away. The word μέλος in this sense is unknown in lyric poetry, nor would it make any sense for Pindar in this context to refer to his own song as belonging to a particular genre. Option (d) is not compelling either. Although this use has impeccable credentials elsewhere in Greek lyric, there is no good reason to assume that Pindar refers to ‘mode’ rather than simply song or melody because, apart from *Plat. Rep.* 398c, the word in this sense is normally accompanied by an adjective denoting the ethnic/geographic origin of a particular musical ἁρμονία, as for example is the case in *Pind. fr.* 67 (S-M) Δώριον μέλος σεμνότατόν ἐστιν.<sup>54</sup> It must also be noticed that at *Nem.* 4.44-45 ἐξύφαινε, γλυκεῖα, καὶ τόδ’ αὐτίκα, φόρμιγγξ, Λυδίαι σὺν ἁρμονίαι μέλος, quoted by Bury to support the idea that Timokritos would have played in Lydian mood, Pindar carefully distinguishes between the song (μέλος) on the one hand and its mode (ἁρμονία) on the other.

This leaves us with (a) ‘song’ and (b) ‘melody’. Both meanings are attested in Pindar and both are possible here. However, some considerations seem to militate against the latter. When μέλος is used to denote ‘melody’, as distinct from the sung

<sup>54</sup> Cf. also *Stes. PMG* 35 τοιάδε χρὴ Χαρίτων δαμώματα καλλικόμων | ὑμνεῖν Φρύγιον μέλος ἐξευρόντας ἄβρως | ἦρος ἐπερχομένου, *Carm. Pop. PMG* 5b. 2 ἀπλοῦν ῥυθμὸν χέοντες αἰόλωι μέλει, *Alcm. PMG* 126 Φρύγιον ἀῖλησε μέλος τὸ Κερβήσιον.

text, this sense of the word is always unambiguously supported by the context. Here are a few examples: Alc. *PMG* 37 ἀμὺν δ' ὑπαυλησεῖ μέλος, Alc. *PMG* 39 *Ἑπὴ τάδε καὶ μέλος Ἀλκμᾶν* | *εὗρε γεγλωσσαμένην*, Pind. *Pyth.* 12.18-19 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ τούτων φίλον ἄνδρα πόνων | ἐρρύσατο παρθένος αὐλῶν τεύχε πάμφωνον μέλος, | ὄφρα τὸν *Εὐρυάλας* ἐκ καρπαλιμᾶν γενύων, fr. 140b.16-17 (S-M) τὸν μὲν ἀκύμονος ἐν πόντου πελάγει | αὐλῶν ἐκίνησ' ἐρατὸν μέλος, Thgn. 761 φόρμιγξ δ' αὖ φθέγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος ἦδ' καὶ αὐλός, Crat. fr. 236 (Kock) *Κλειταγόρας* ἄδειν, ὅταν *Ἀδμήτου* μέλος αὐλῇ, Ar. *Ecc.* 891-2 φιλοττάριον αὐλητά, τοὺς αὐλοὺς λαβὼν | ἄξιον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ προσαύλησον μέλος. It is notable that in all of these cases, except Alc. *PMG* 39 where the poet draws a very clear distinction between words and music, μέλος unequivocally refers to the sound of musical instruments, which are either explicitly mentioned or implied in the verb. One could suggest that this is exactly the case with *Nem.* 4.14-16 *ποικίλον κιθαρίζων* | *θαμά κε, τῶδε μέλει κλιθεῖς* | *ὕμνον κελάδησε καλλίνικον*, where the instrument is in fact mentioned. However, this interpretation is not supported by the word order. Sandwiched between *κε* and *κελάδησε*, the participial phrase *τῶδε μέλει κλιθεῖς* more naturally complements the idea of Timokritos' singing (*κελάδησε*) rather than his playing the kithara (*κιθαρίζων*). The view of the scholiast that *τῶδε μέλει* refers to the song as a whole (i.e. words, melody, and rhythm) emerges as the most plausible and is further vindicated on the grounds of Pindaric usage.<sup>55</sup>

Now back to the main question. What would Timokritos have actually done with Pindar's song if he had been alive? The meaning of *κλιθεῖς* is key, and we cannot advance over previous interpretations if, like all other commentators, we avoid coming to grips with this problem. First of all, the fact that the meaning of *κλιθεῖς* in this passage cannot be pinned down by a simple lexical search is not at all surprising. After

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *Pyth.* 2.3-4 ὕμνῳ τὸδε τᾶν λιπαρᾶν ἀπὸ Θηβᾶν φέρων | μέλος, *Pyth.* 2.67-8 τὸδε μὲν κατὰ Φοῖνισσαν ἐμπολάν | μέλος ὑπὲρ πολιᾶς ἁλὸς πέμπεται. In the last example μέλος must refer to the whole ode, not to a part of it as suggested by the scholiast.

all, this is not the only case when Pindar uses language in a manner that we cannot precisely parallel. The example of *Nem.* 8.46-8 is instructive:

σεῦ δὲ πάτρα Χαριάδαις τ' ἐλαφρόν  
ὑπερείσαι (i.e. μοι δυνατόν) λίθον  
Μοισαῖον ἑκατι ποδῶν εὐωνύμων  
δὺς δὴ δυοῖν.

But for your homeland and the Chariadai (I can) erect  
a nimble stone of the Muses in honor of those twice famous  
pairs of feet.

Looking for other examples of ὑπερίδω used in connection with poetic or musical performance, we will find no adequate parallels. The reason why we are able to understand the poet's meaning here is only because we know that he often compares his songs to other media of commemoration, such as victory stelai and statues. In this particular case, the image is that of a stele or perhaps of an inscribed statue base on which the poet's imaginary monument rests. The implication of the metaphor is that the poet celebrates or exalts the victor, his family, and their homeland in his song. This meaning cannot be extracted from ὑπερίδω alone.

The same may well be true with regard to κλιθείς. Straightforward lexical search is futile, which means that we first have to pin down the idea implied in 'leaning upon' and only then proceed toward interpretation. I have already expressed my sympathy with Greengard's suggestion that κλιθείς must point to some kind of architectural foundation, and I would like to endorse her view again. However, her argument that the foundation is probably that of a stele is predicated on the assumption that *Nem.* 4.15 must be a mirror image of *Nem.* 4.79-81:

εἰ δέ τοι  
μάτρω μ' ἔτι Καλλικλεῖ κελεύεις  
στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν

But if indeed

you bid me yet to erect for your maternal uncle Kallikles  
a stele whiter than Parian marble ...

The argument is problematic. Are we to suppose that the audience would retrospectively adjust the meaning of *κλιθείς* when they reach *Nem.* 4.79-81. Or would they recognize *κλιθείς* as a reference to the stele right away? Neither sounds very convincing. Although the word *κλιθείς* does suggest some kind of foundation on which Timokritos would rest himself, it does so only in very general terms.

Why then this particular metaphor is chosen to mediate between μέλος and the song of Timokritos? Two passages will throw some light on this question. The first is *Soph. Ai.* 1091-92, where the Chorus criticize Menelaos' refusal to allow Aias proper burial:

*Μενέλαε, μὴ γνώμας ὑποστήσας σοφὰς  
εἴτ' αὐτὸς ἐν θανούσιν ὑβριστῆς γένη.*

Menelaos, after you laid down the foundations of wise thoughts,  
don't be arrogant toward the dead.

The Chorus urge Menelaos to live up to the high standards of *σωφροσύνη* and *αἰδώς*, two notions which he himself vehemently endorsed. By using the word *ὑποστήσας* the Chorus effectively suggests that in his actions Menelaos must adhere to the pattern of moral integrity which he proclaimed in his own speech. The same notion is more explicitly conveyed by *Isoc.* 5.113:

*Ἀπαντας μὲν οὖν χρὴ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας τὸν κράτιστον ὑποστησάμενους πειρᾶσθαι  
γίγνεσθαι τοιούτους, μάλιστα δὲ σοὶ προσήκει. Τὸ γὰρ μὴ δεῖν ἀλλοτρίοις χρῆσθαι  
παραδείγμασιν ἀλλ' οἰκεῖον ὑπάρχειν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σε παροξύνεσθαι  
καὶ φιλονικεῖν, ὅπως τῷ προγόνῳ σαυτὸν ὅμοιον παρασκευάσεις;*

Now, while all who are blessed with understanding ought to set before themselves the greatest of men as their model, and strive to become like him, it behoves you above all to do so. For since you have no need to follow alien examples but have before you one

from your own house, have we not then the right to expect that you will be spurred on by this and inspired by the ambition to make yourself like the ancestor of your race?<sup>56</sup>

The meaning of ὑποστησαμένους is clarified by the phrase χρήσθαι παραδείγμασιν in the following sentence. Both passages provide an excellent illustration of a somewhat rare Greek idiom, according to which ‘to lay the foundations for someone’ is ‘to provide him or her with a model or instruction’. The same logic underlies the semantic development of ὑποτίθημι (‘to put under’ LSJ I 1 → ‘to advise, instruct, enjoin’ LSJ II; cf also ὑποθήκη). From this we may reasonably infer that to base oneself on the foundation is to learn or follow a certain model.<sup>57</sup>

If then ‘relying on this song’ means ‘using this song as a model’, it transpires that Timokritos would have used Pindar’s μέλος (words, melody, and rhythm) as a blueprint for composing a number of songs of his own on several occasions. The problem of the tautology of τῷδε μέλει (15) used beside ὕμνον ... καλλίνικον (16), both of which are normally taken to refer to *Nem.* 4, is thus effectively resolved. The victory hymn of Timokritos is *not* the same as Pindar’s μέλος, and the fact that Timokritos is described as celebrating victories attained at venues other than Nemea also points in this direction. The song of Timokritos is a different poetic composition bearing a certain degree of verbal and musical similarity to its model, i.e. *Nem.* 4.

Before assessing the consequences of this interpretation, another serious and often unnoticed problem calls our attention. The conditional sentence in lines 13-16, containing the imperfect in the protasis (ἐθάλπετο) and the aorist in the apodosis (κε ... κελάδησε), usually understood as a mixed contrafactual condition, implies that if Timokritos *were alive now*, i.e. at the moment of the performance of *Nem.* 4, he *would have often used it as a model*. This involves a problem of logic, for it is impossible

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<sup>56</sup> Trans. by G. Norlin, *Isocrates*, vol. i (Loeb Classical Library) (London, 1928).

<sup>57</sup> The point seems obvious in English where the word ‘rely’ can be used in this sense, or in German where *Anlehnung* actually means ‘imitation’. This, however, is much less obvious in Greek.

that Timokritos *would have done* anything with the song that is being performed for the first time *at this very moment*. Cole seems to be the only commentator who shows awareness of the problem.<sup>58</sup> Naturally, there would be no such difficulty if we follow him in assuming that τῶδε μέλει refers to the proem habitually used by Timokritos and appropriated by Pindar for the present occasion. But, as we have seen above, Cole's hypothesis itself involves too many problems. In my view, a plausible solution is offered by *Pyth.* 3.63-76:

εἰ δὲ σῶφρων ἄντρον ἔναι' ἔτι Χίρων, καί τί οἱ φίλτρον <έν> θυμῷ μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι ἀμέτεροι τίθεν, ἱατῆρά τοί κέν νιν πίθον καί νυν ἐσλοῖσι παρασχεῖν ἀνδράσιν θερμῶν νόσων ἢ τινα Λατοῖδα κεκλημένον ἢ πατέρος. καί κεν ἐν ναυσὶν μόλον Ἴονίαν τάμνων θάλασσαν Ἀρέθουσαν ἐπὶ κράναν παρ' Αἰτναῖον ξένον, Δ' ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεύς, πραῦς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ξεί- νοις δὲ θαυμαστὸς πατήρ. τῶ μὲν διδύμας χάριτας εἰ κατέβαν ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσέαν κῶμόν τ' ἀέθλων Πυθίων αἶγλαν στεφάνοις, τοὺς ἀριστεύων Φερένικος ἔλεν Κίρρα ποτέ, ἀστέρος οὐρανίου φαμὶ τηλαυγέστερον κείνῳ φάος ἐξικόμαν κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσαις.	65       70  71   73  75
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Yet if wise Cheiron were still living in his cave, and if  
my honey-sounding hymns could put a charm in his heart,  
I would surely have persuaded him to provide a healer  
now as well to cure the feverish illness of good men,  
someone called a son of Apollo or of Zeus.  
And I would have come, cleaving the Ionian sea in a ship,  
to the fountain of Arethusa and to my Aitnaian host,  
who rules as king over Syracuse,  
gentle to towns men, not begrudging to good men,  
and to guests a wonderful father.  
And if I had landed, bringing with me  
two blessings, golden health and a victory revel  
to add luster to the crowns from the Pythian games  
which Pherenikos once won when victorious at Kirrha,

<sup>58</sup> Cole (1992) 99 n. 20: '...one would not expect future performances of an ode in the course of being performed for the first time to be referred to [ll. 13-16] in a past unreal condition'.



I swear that I would have come for that man  
as a saving light outshining any heavenly star,  
upon crossing the deep sea.

The poet develops a fantasy that he ‘would persuade a newly available Cheiron to train another Asclepius, and [lines] 68-76 imagine the speaker’s arrival in Syracuse equipped with the means to restore Hieron’s health’.<sup>59</sup> The passage comprising two contrafactual conditions recapitulates the wish expressed in the opening lines of the same poem (*Pyth.* 3.1-5).<sup>60</sup> It has been assumed that the speaker of these words must be absent from Syracuse because lines 73, 69, 76 seem to suggest that he did not arrive to Sicily, and that the whole ode therefore is a sort of poetic epistle. However, this interpretation does not take into account the fact that in certain contexts contrafactuals may have a future reference. This is clearly the case in *Pyth.* 4.43-8:

εἰ γὰρ οἱ-

κοι νιν βάλε παρ χθόνιον  
Αἶδα στόμα, Ταίναρον εἰς ἱερὰν Εὐφάμος ἐλθών,  
υἱὸς ἱππάρχου Ποσειδάωνος ἄναξ,  
τόν ποτ’ Εὐρώπα Τιτυοῦ θυγάτηρ  
τίκτε Κεφισοῦ παρ’ ὄχθαις,  
τετράτων παίδων κ’ ἐπιγεινομένων  
αἶμά οἱ κείναν λάβε σὺν Δαναοῖς εὐ-  
ρεῖαν ἄπειρον.

For if Euphamos,  
the royal son of horse-ruling Poseidon,  
whom Europa, Tityos’ daughter, once bore by the banks  
of the Kephisos, had gone home to holy Tainaros  
and cast the clod at the earth’s  
entrance to Hades,  
the blood of the fourth generation of children  
born to him would have taken that broad mainland  
with the Danaans.

<sup>59</sup> Pelliccia (forthcoming), *Pyth.* 3.63-76 n.

<sup>60</sup> Ἥθελον Χίρωνά κε Φιλλυρίδαν, | εἰ χρεὼν τοῦθ’ ἀμετέρας ἀπὸ γλώσσας | κοινὸν εὖξασθαι ἔπος, |  
ζῶειν τὸν ἀποϊχόμενον, | Οὐρανίδα γόνον εὐρυμέδοντα Κρόνου, | βάσσαισί τ’ ἄρχειν Παλίου φῆρ’  
ἀγρότερον | νόον ἔχοντ’ ἀνδρῶν φίλον.

Comparing this passage with *Pyth.* 3.63-76, Pelliccia has noticed that in both cases contrafactual conditions are ‘applied not to actions that merely did not or will not happen, but which by the nature of things cannot happen, so that the meaning is not “if he had done X, then he would have Y-ed”, but “if he had done X, he could have Y-ed”’.<sup>61</sup> The conditions in *Pyth.* 3.63-76 do not tell us that something did not happen in the past due to the failure of a certain condition to obtain. Rather, they tell us that the failure of a certain condition to obtain has rendered the realization of the action in the apodosis impossible—not only in the past but both in the present and in the future. It must be noticed that, the conditional sentence at *Nem.* 4.13-16 is just such a case. All three passages are remarkably similar in terms of their context; all of them involve a wish for ‘the restoration of someone or something that is (or believed to be) irretrievably lost’.<sup>62</sup> If this is correct, Timokritos’ hypothetical performance does not need to be restricted to the past or to the present, and the problem is effectively removed. The only thing the conditional sentence in *Nem.* 4.13-16 implies is that the possibility of Timokritos imitating the song of Pindar is rendered completely impossible because Timokritos is dead.

### ***Further Implications***

What seems to be the case, then, is that were he alive Timokritos would use *Nem.* 4 as a basis for composing other celebratory songs in honor of his son. If this means using the meter, rhythm, and language of *Nem.* 4, the passage refers to the procedure that Pindar himself used in composing *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4. The metrical identity of the two poems and unmistakable verbal correspondences between them

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<sup>61</sup> Pelliccia (forthcoming), *Pyth.* 3.63-76 n.

<sup>62</sup> Pelliccia (1987) 51.

make it inevitable that Pindar composed the shorter poem with *Isth.* 4 in mind, or, as we may now say, he composed it τῶδε μέλει (= *Isth.* 4) κλιθείς. Such an interpretation is certainly at odds with a widely expressed view that *Nem.* 4.15 betrays Pindar's condescending attitude towards Timokritos as a manifestly inferior member of the poetic guild. If Pindar himself had a recourse to the compositional technique with which he credits the victor's father, it seems far more likely that Pindar's reference to the imitation of *Nem.* 4 by Timokritos need not to be taken as an ill-disguised sneer, but rather as a double edged compliment intended to cut in both directions; on the one hand, it is suggested that Pindar's *Nem.* 4 is a magnificent ode worthy of imitation, but, on the other hand, it is implied that Timokritos is a virtuoso poet and musician who, just like Pindar, is capable of adapting the text and the music of one song to suit more than one occasion.

It might still be objected, however, that the phrase τῶδε μέλει κλιθείς, interpreted as a reference to poetic imitation, does not require the poems to be metrically identical since musical/metrical affinity between the model and the adaptation can be much looser than what the analogy of *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4 implies. The objection is valid, but there is no difficulty in admitting that the phrase τῶδε μέλει κλιθείς allows for various degrees of musical/metrical kinship. In fact, this kind of loose relationship finds an excellent illustration in the extant corpus of Pindar and Bacchylides.

A case in point is another problematic pair of poems: Bacch. fr. \*20 B, addressed to the king of Macedon, Alexander son of Amyntas, and Pind. fr. 124 a.b, composed for Thrasyboulos, the tyrant of Akragas.<sup>63</sup> The points of coincidence between Bacch. \*20B and Pind. 124a.b are all too obvious when the two poems are

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<sup>63</sup> Both poems are classified by the Alexandrian scholars as *encomia*, a misnomer replacing the old fifth century term *solia*. See Harvey (1955) 174-5.

set side by side:<sup>64</sup>

(a) Bacch. fr. \*20 B

- A' ὦ βάρβιτε, μηκέτι πάσσαλον φυλ ἄ σ [σων]  
ἐπτάτονον λ[ι]γυρὰν κάππαυε γάρυν·  
δεῦρ' ἐς ἐμὰς χέρας· (1) ὀρμαίνω τι πέμπ[ειν]  
χρύσειον Μουσᾶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πτερόν
- B' (2) καὶ συμποσ[ίαι]σιν ἄγαλμ' [ἐν] εἰκάδεσ[σιν,] 5  
(3) εὔτε νέων ἀ[παλὸν] γλυκεῖ' ἀνάγκα  
(4) σενομενᾶν κυλίκων θάλλησι θυμόν,  
Κύπριδος τ' ἐλπίς δ<ι>αιθύσση φρένας,
- Γ' (5) ἀμμειγνυμένα Διονυσίοισι δώροις·  
(6) ἀνδράσι δ' ὑποτάτω πέμπει μερίμνας· 10  
αὐτίκα μὲν πολίων κράδεμνα λύει,  
πάσι δ' ἀνθρώποις μοναρχήσιν δοκεῖ·
- Δ' χρυσῷ δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμαίρουσιν οἴκοι,  
πυροφόροι δὲ κατ' αἰγλάεντα (7) πό[ντον]  
νᾶες (8) ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέγιστον 15  
(9) πλούτον· ὧς πίνοντος ὀρμαίνει κέαρ.

(b) Pind. fr. 124a.b

- A' (1) ὦ Θρασύβουλ', ἐρατὰν ὄχημ' αἰοιδᾶν  
τοῦτό <τοι> πέμπω μεταδόρπιον. ἐν ξυνῷ κεν εἴη  
(2) συμπόταισιν τε καὶ (5) Διωνύσοιο καρπῷ
- B' (4) καὶ κυλίκεσσιν Ἀθαναίαισι κέντρον·  
(3) ἀνίκ' (6) ἀνθρώπων καματώδεις οἴχονται μέριμναι 5  
στηθέων ἔξω· (7) πελάγει δ' ἐν πολυχρύσοιο (9) πλούτου
- Γ' πάντες ἴσα (8) νέομεν ψευδῇ πρὸς ἀκτάν·  
ὃς μὲν ἀχρήμων, ἀφνεὸς τότε, τοὶ δ' αὖ πλουτέοντες.

The close relationship between the two poems is further confirmed by the affinity of their metrical structures:

<sup>64</sup> The following comparison is based on a list of similarities drawn up by van Groningen (1960) 100-1.

(a) Bacch. fr. \*20B

- -uu-uu-x-u-x

-uu-uu-x-u--

-uu-uu-x-u--

-u-x-u---u-

(b) Pind. fr. 124a.b

-uu-uu-x-u-x

-u-- -uu-uu---u--

-u-- -uu--u-x-u--

Both are based on –uu-uu-x-u-- sequence. In Bacch. fr. \*20 B the unit is repeated three times and rounded off with an epitritic coda. Pindar uses the same unit but admits quite a bit more variation as his stanza unfolds. Bruno Snell, the editor of our standard text of Bacchylides, may well be right to suspect that one poem was in fact based on the other.<sup>65</sup>

The question of the relationship between Bacch. \*20B and Pind. 124a.b has been a matter of extensive debate. Many scholars were (and some still are) in the habit of thinking that Bacchylides' poem must be an imitation of Pindar's,<sup>66</sup> whereas more recent scholarship has taken a different path, assuming that both poets draw on a common stock of sympotic topoi.<sup>67</sup> Neither view, however, is entirely satisfactory. The first one reflects a longstanding and unjustified bias against Bacchylides as

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<sup>65</sup> Snell-Maehler, lli-lliii: 'Simile est Pindari fr. 124 a et b, quod eodem fere tempore compositum est. Cum metra Bacchylidis sint valde simplicia (cf. p. xxviii), Pindari autem paulo artificiosiora, nescio an hic ab illo pendeat'.

<sup>66</sup> Koerte (1918) 128, Wilamowitz (1922) 319, Severyns (1933) 38-9, van Groningen (1960) 100-3, Bowra (1964) 232-6.

<sup>67</sup> Maehler (2004) 248-9, quoting Ar. *Knights* 92-4 ὁρᾷς, ὅταν πίνωσιν ἄνθρωποι, τότε | πλουτοῦσι, διαπράττουσι, νικῶσιν δίκας, | εὐδαιμονοῦσιν, ὡφελούσι τοὺς φίλους. Although the passage features similar sympotic motifs, it cannot undermine the connection between Bacch. \*20B and Pind. 124a.b.

unoriginal and uninspired poet as compared to Pindar. From this point of view, Bacchylides must have borrowed from Pindar simply because the opposite would be inconceivable; after all, eagles do not fly as low as jackdaws. Accordingly, those who espouse this view are forced to argue, without any valid reason, that Bacch. fr. \*20B is in some way inferior to its alleged model, Pind. fr. 124a.b. They claim that the poem of Bacchylides is not up to par on the grounds that it is less metaphoric.

The second view, however, is no less problematic, if somewhat more reasonable. On the one hand, it rightly draws our attention to the significance of the shared sympotic motifs. Yet, on the other hand, it completely fails to explain why the two poems are so remarkably close in their use of these motifs. Comparing the epinicians of Pindar and Bacchylides, we readily acknowledge that they share a great number of epinician topoi which are often couched in very similar language, and yet there is not a single pair of epinician odes which resemble each other as closely as Bacch. fr. \*20 resembles Pind. fr. 124 a.b. The only exception is *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4, where borrowing is beyond any doubt.

In his polemic against scholars who see Bacch. fr. \*20B as an imitation of Pind. fr. 124a.b Maehler has argued that they ‘ignore not only the probable early date of B.’s poem, which makes their assumption almost impossible, but also the question of how one poet could have known the other’s poem if one was performed in Sicily and the other in Macedonia’.<sup>68</sup> The extent to which Maehler’s arguments for the early date of Bacch. \*20B are convincing is not the issue that I would like to pursue here at length. Suffice it to say that the date is probably far less certain than he would have us believe. What is more interesting about his argument is that he completely ignores the possibility that most naturally follows from his own relative chronology of the two poems, namely, that Bacch. \*20B could itself serve as a model for Pind. fr. 124a.b.

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<sup>68</sup> Maehler (2004) 248-9.

The fact that each poem was performed in the two parts of the Greek world so distant from one another does not in the least preclude the possibility that one poet could be familiar with the poem by another. There are a number of Pindaric passages which envisage a wide distribution of poetic material throughout all Greece, an idea well expressed in the celebrated passage of Theognis 245-50 cited earlier.<sup>69</sup> In addition, we know that both Pindar and Bacchylides wrote poems for Alexander, son of Amyntas, and that both were on intimate terms with powerful Sicilian aristocrats. Given these basic facts, it does not require a leap of faith to assume that both Pindar and his Sicilian friend Thrasyboulos could be familiar with the song of Bacchylides which had premiered at some earlier point at the royal court in Macedon. That Pindar could borrow from Bacchylides is not entirely inconceivable, for we have a good reason to think that it was not the only time when he did so.<sup>70</sup> In short, there seem to be no real obstacle for the assumption that Bacch. fr. \*20B was a song of considerable musical and literary merit, and that it could be viewed as worthy of imitation by another poet. The fact that it is somewhat less metaphorical than Pind. fr. 124a.b is not a meaningful indicator of its poetic quality.

### ***The Game of Poetic Imitation***

The new interpretation of *Nem.* 4.13-22 offered here raises further questions. Why would Timokritos use Pindar's *Nem.* 4 as a model instead of composing new songs from scratch? Why would Pindar himself compose metrically identical and verbally

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<sup>69</sup> Cf. also *Nem.* 5.1-5.

<sup>70</sup> Pohlsander (1963) 139-40 compares *Isth.* 4.1-3 ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἑκατὶ μυρία παντὰ κέλευθος to Bacch. 5.31-3 τῶς νῦν καὶ ἔμοι μυρία πάντα κέλευθος | ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν | ὑμνεῖν, 9(8).47-50 στείχει δι' εὐρείας κελεύθου | μυρία πάντα φάτις | σᾶς γενεᾶς λιπαρο- | ζώνων θυγατρῶν, and 19(18).1-4 πάρεστι μυρία κέλευθος | ἀμβροσίων μελέων, | ὃς ἂν παρὰ Πιερίδων λά- | χησι δῶρα Μουσῶν, concluding that '[u]nless we wish to claim that Bacchylides thrice borrowed from Pindar, we must admit borrowing on the part of Pindar.

similar poems on one occasion, while closely following the meter and the language of Bacch. fr. \*20B on another? Although it must be admitted that with the amount of evidence that we have these questions cannot be resolved with certainty, there is still some room for reasonable speculation.

*Nem.* 4.13-22 is important in so far as it does not give us even the slightest hint that the close modeling of Timokritos' songs on *Nem.* 4 would have to be attributed to some unusual external pressures, since neither the shortage of time nor Timasarchos' musical preferences nor anything of the sort seem to be at issue. We are only told that Timokritos would have imitated *Nem.* 4 on a number of occasions (*Nem.* 4.15 θαμά), celebrating the victories of his son in the contests other than Nemean, which is exactly what Pindar does in his *Isth.* 3. The very frequency of Timokritos' hypothetic performances seems to militate against any explanation based on unique extraneous factors. On the contrary, the whole passage gives the impression that the imitation of *Nem.* 4 would be a perfectly natural thing to do. This conclusion brings to the fore the question of the performance context, for it seems reasonable to assume that Timokritos' imitation of Pindar would have to involve a setting to which this kind of poetic and musical recycling was indeed germane.

Recent scholarship has gradually moved towards realization that much of Greek poetry outside drama was performed in the context of the symposium. Epinician odes are no exception. Although Pindar is usually reticent about the performance setting of his odes, every now and then he gives a glimpse of how and where his many of his odes were performed. In the opening of *Ol.* 1 he says:

ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καί  
μουσικᾶς ἐν ᾧ τῳ,  
οἷα παίζομεν φίλαν  
ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν. ἀλλὰ Δω-  
ρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου  
λάβαν', εἴ τί τοι Πίσας τε καὶ Φερειῶν χάρις



νόον ὑπὸ γλυκυτάταις ἔθηκε φροντίσιν

(Ol. 1.14-17)

[Hieron] is also glorified  
in the finest songs,  
such as those we men often perform in play  
about the friendly table. Come, take  
the Dorian lyre from its peg,  
if the splendor of Pisa and of Pherenikos has indeed  
enthralled your mind with sweetest considerations.

Hieron's achievements in various spheres of life are unrivaled: he is second to none in terms of hospitality, wealth, and political influence. In addition, he is a patron of arts, and poets, who *often* (θαυμά) flock to his palace and engage in informal, light-hearted singing at his sumptuous parties. The reference to poetic and musical entertainment reminds the speaker of his encomiastic task at hand, and he continues:

ἀλλὰ Δω-  
ρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου  
λάβαν', εἴ τί τοι Πίσας τε καὶ Φερειῶν χάρις  
νόον ὑπὸ γλυκυτάταις ἔθηκε φροντίσιν

(Ol. 1.17-19)

Come, take  
the Dorian lyre from its peg,  
if the splendor of Pisa and of Pherenikos has indeed  
enthralled your mind with sweetest considerations.

This passage firmly locates the performance of the ode in the context of the symposium and obliterates the boundary between the epinician genre and less formal types of poetry by drawing a connection between performance of a victory ode and the poetic παιδιά ('game'), a common form of sympotic entertainment.<sup>71</sup> There is no need

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<sup>71</sup> From the above analysis of the passage it should be clear that I do not find Morgan's (1993) interpretation of ἀλλὰ in line 17 as adversative ('but sing a proper epinician', i.e. as opposed to what poets do at Hieron's table) particularly convincing. In standard Greek idiom, ἀλλὰ simply adds a degree of urgency to the imperative. This construction is abundantly documented by Denniston 13-15 and Slater s.v. ἀλλὰ 3. Morgan's argument that Pindar draws a contrast between two different types of poetry – amateur sympotic (οἷα παίζομεν) vs. professional epinician (ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου | λάβαν') – is based on nothing else but the idea that 'in this context the adversative seems

to restrict the meaning of *παλίζομεν* (16) only to the performance of informal *scolia* or *paroinia* since epinician odes are also sometimes described in terms of entertainment.<sup>72</sup> As Christopher Carey has rightly argued, ‘Pindar’s most formal compositions ... mimic the most informal level of celebration’. This striking feature of Pindar’s poetry is in evidence throughout the epinician corpus, most notably in the fiction of extemporizing speaker who struggles to maintain control over the subject matter as he moves on in his narrative.<sup>73</sup>

Unfortunately, we are not quite certain whether victory odes were originally performed in private or in public. Odes celebrating the victories of the Sicilian potentates or Arkesilas, king of Cyrene, may have been performed during feasts which accommodated numerous guests and which, given the rank of the honorands, could be commensurate to large scale public events. However, this was probably not the case with most other victors. A private banquet comparable to what is described in Plato’s or Xenophon’s *Symposium* seems to be the most likely performance setting for a large number of odes in the epinician corpus. Now whatever notion of the symposium as the context of epinician performance we choose to espouse, be it a magnificent feast of almost public dimensions or a private gathering involving a circle of close friends and family, in both cases the composition and performance of epinician poetry was probably in some way affected by the impulse for poetic gaming (*παιδιά*) which was a central element of Greek sympotic entertainment. We know that symposiasts were expected to recite from memory as well as to improvise extended passages of poetry, which oftentimes were closely modeled on other poetic texts. In delivering his

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more pointed’. It is therefore a bit odd that Collins (2004) 64 takes her suggestion as a definitive proof (‘As Kathryn Morgan has shown ...’).

<sup>72</sup> *Pyth.* 5.22-3 δέδεξαι τόνδε κῶμον ἀνέρων, | Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθυρμα (‘play-thing’) *Isth.* 4.37-9 ὃς αὐτοῦ | πᾶσαν ὀρθώσῃς ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν | θεσπεσίῳ ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν (‘for future generations to play with’, which is exactly what Pindar does, ‘playing with’ the story of Aias in his own poem).

<sup>73</sup> Carey (1995) 99-103.

own version of a poem the symposiast was often appropriating and changing the material he found in other songs to suit the needs of a particular sympotic situation.

Is it possible, then, that Timokritos' and Pindar's procedure of composing songs based on a pre-existing model was simply a natural response to the demands of the environment where a display of wit and sympotic sprezzatura was *sine qua non*? It must be admitted that our evidence for sympotic improvisation and re-use of poetic texts is for the most part restricted to relatively simple metrical forms, such as hexameters, elegiac couplets, or short aeolic four-liners known as the Attic *scolia*. Arguably the best examples of the phenomenon can be found in Theognis, who freely borrows from Tyrtaeus,<sup>74</sup> Mimnermus,<sup>75</sup> and Solon,<sup>76</sup> and on occasion even recasts his own verses, accomodating them to new sympotic situations.<sup>77</sup>

There is no doubt that the relative simplicity of stichic verse-forms rendered them particularly tractable for the purposes of sympotic imitation and recycling. However, given the examples from Pindar and Bacchylides, it seems quite possible that a similar phenomenon existed in more complex forms of lyric as well. In this connection, one is reminded of Alcaeus fr. 347a (*LP*), a remarkably close adaptation of Hesiod *Op.* 582-4 which is recast into Lesbian dialect and meter. Naturally, the ability to imitate and improvise in the meters of Greek lyric would require musical and poetic proficiency far above that of even the most consummate symposiast, and this

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<sup>74</sup> Thgn. 1003-6.

<sup>75</sup> Thgn. 1020-2.

<sup>76</sup> Thgn. 153ff., 227-32, 315-18, 585-90, 719-28, 1253ff.

<sup>77</sup> One should also mention Pindar's elder contemporary, Simonides, who, as far as we know, was an expert in sympotic improvisation (cf. Ath. 3.125c-d).

was probably one of the reasons why aristocrats from all over the Greek world would want to host a Pindar or at least a Timokritos at their banquets.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Centuries later we still hear of the admiration bestowed upon such exceptional *improvisatores* who could compose verses in various meters and on various subjects on the spur of the moment: (Antipater of Sidon) Cic. *de Orat.* ‘quod si Antipater ille Sidonius ... solitus est uersus hexametros aliosque uariis modis atque numeris fundere ex tempore, tantumque hominis ingeniosi ac memoris ualuit exercitation ut, cum se mente ac uoluntate coniecisset in uersum, uerba sequerentur, quanto id facilius in oration, exercitatione et consuetudine adhibita, consequemur’; (Licinius Archias) *pro Arch.* 8.18 ‘quotiens ego hunc uidi, cum litteram scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum uersuum de iis ipsis rebus, quae tum agerentur, dicere ex tempore! Quotiens reuocatum eandem rem dicere commutates uerbis atque sententiis!’

### III. SHORT EPINICIAN ODES AND THEIR PERFORMANCE CONTEXT

#### ***Introduction***

The corpus of epinician poetry features a number of odes of short compass like *Isth.*

3.<sup>1</sup> According to the consensus of scholarly opinion, these odes were composed in haste and performed impromptu at the sites of the games, in the immediate aftermath of athletic victories.<sup>2</sup> However, very few Pindarists seem to be aware of the origins of this hypothesis and of the fact that the evidence adduced in its favor is extremely problematic.<sup>3</sup>

#### ***Olympians 10 and 11: The Root of Misconception***

Published in 1798, Heyne's second edition of Pindar was in many ways a landmark in the study of epinician poetry. Heyne often radically departs from the mainstream views current at the time. *Olympians* 10 and 11 are a case in point. The two odes celebrate the Olympic victory of Hagesidamos of Epizephyrian Lokroi in boys' boxing. *Ol.* 10 is a magnificent ode comprising five triads. *Ol.* 11, on the other hand, is a short, seemingly run-of-the-mill, poem consisting of only one triad. In establishing the relationship between the two odes all editors prior to Heyne followed the interpretation of the Alexandrian scholars based on the commercial metaphor at *Ol.*

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'short odes' used throughout this chapter refers to a distinct group of odes which consist of one triad (strophe, antistrophe, epode) or two identical stanzas (strophe, antistrophe). These poems are *Ol.* 4, *Ol.* 12, *Ol.* 14, *Pyth.* 7, *Isth.* 3, Bacch. 2, Bacch. 4, Bacch. 6. Our shortest poem is Bacch. 12 (14 lines); the longest is *Ol.* 4 (27 lines).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bowra (1964) 161, Bremer (1990) 43 n. 1, Willcock (1995) 14, Gentili (1988) 20, Gentili (1995) xl, Robbins (1997) 255, 34, Gerber (1999) Pfeijffer (1999) 62, Hose (2000), Mackie (2003) 1 n. 1, Hornblower (2004) 35, Hubbard (2004) 77, Currie (2005) 17.

<sup>3</sup> Several scholars (e.g., Hamilton (1974) 53-4, Kirkwood (1982) 14 and Race (2004) 92 n. 44) have expressed their skepticism, but none of them addresses the issue at length.

10.7-9:

ἔκαθεν γὰρ ἐπελθὼν ὁ μέλλων χρόνος  
ἐμὸν καταίσχυνε βαθὺν χρέος.  
ὅμως δὲ λύσαι δυνατὸς ὀξείαν ἐπιμομφὰν  
τόκος

For what was then the future has approached from afar  
and shamed my deep indebtedness.  
Nevertheless, interest on a debt can absolve one from a bitter reproach.

Alexandrian scholars understood the word *τόκος* in line 9 as a reference to *Ol.* 11; the ode symbolically represents the accrued interest (*τόκος*) attached to the repayment of the principal represented by *Ol.* 10. Accordingly, the title of *Ol.* 11 in the scholia appears as *τῷ αὐτῷ τόκος*. The views of Alexandrian scholars come down to us in two brief prefatory notes found in the scholia:

(a) *Σ Ol.* 10.inscr a:

τόκος ἐπιγέγραπται, ἐπειδὴ ἐν προσθήκης μέρει τελευταῖον γέγραφε, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δανεισμάτων τὸ προστιθέμενον ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἀρχαίου.

[*Ol.* 11] is headed *τόκος* because [Pindar] wrote it as an addition afterwards; just as in the case of loans, the payment of the interest is made separately from the payment of the principal.

(b) *Σ Ol.* 10.inscr b:

τῷ αὐτῷ γέγραφεν ἐν προσθήκης μέρει διδοὺς ὥς ἂν τόκον διὰ τὸ μὴ παρὰ τὸν τῆς νίκης καιρὸν γεγραμέναι τὸν ἐπίνικον.

He wrote *Ol.* 11, giving it in addition, an interest payment, as it were, because he had not written an ode in time on the occasion of the victory.

Taking *Ol.* 10.7-9 at face value, Alexandrian scholars arrived at the conclusion that Pindar appended *Ol.* 11 to *Ol.* 10 as a compensation for his failure to deliver the song he was commissioned to write on time.

Heyne rejected this interpretation, drawing on the insights of the Italian scholar Mingarelli, who argued that the word *τόκος* does not have to refer to anything else but the outstanding quality of *Ol.* 10 itself.<sup>4</sup> This interpretation has remained unchallenged ever since.

Unfortunately, Mingarelli's argument against the Alexandrian 'τόκος-theory' was predicated on a very problematic assumption, namely, that in his shorter ode Pindar anticipates the future performance of the longer one at Lokroi:<sup>5</sup>

κόσμον ἐπὶ στεφάνῳ χρυσέας ἐλαίας  
 ἀδυμελὴ κελαδήσω  
 Ζεφυρίων Λοκρῶν γενεὰν ἀλέγων.  
 ἔνθα συγκωμάξατ' ἐγγνάσομαι  
 ὕμνιν, ὦ Μοῖσαι, φυγόξεινον στρατόν  
 μήτ' ἀπείρατον καλῶν  
 ἀκρόσοφόν τε καὶ αἰχματὰν ἀφίξε-  
 σθαι.

(*Ol.* 11.13-19)

I shall adorn your crown of golden olive  
 with my sweet song of celebration,  
 as I pay respect to the race of the Epizephyrian Lokrians.  
 Go there and join the revels: I shall promise,  
 O Muses, that you will come to no people who shun a guest  
 or are inexperienced in beautiful things;  
 they are supremely wise and spearmen as well.

According to Mingarelli, *κελαδήσω* (14) refers to the future performance of *Ol.* 10 at Lokroi, an idea which on at first sight might be supported by other future-oriented statements in the poem. The future infinitive *ἀφίξεσθαι* (19) seems to look forward to the arrival of the Muses to the Lokrians in Italy. The phrase *ἐνθα συγκωμάξατε* (16), 'go and join the revel *there*', seems to imply that *here* must be some place other than

<sup>4</sup> Mingarelli in Heyne (1798).

<sup>5</sup> Heyne (1798) *ad loc.*: 'Apponitur in uulgg. *τόκος*, quod haud dubie debetur Grammaticis, petitum ex sup. Oda v. 12 quem uersum male interpretes ad hanc alteram Oden referunt, ut huius noui carminis accessio illo priore promittatur a poeta; cum ibi sententia absolute efferatur. Potest carmen ad aliam uictoriam, potest quoque ad unam eandemque spectare; potuit illud cum superiore carmine mitti, tanquam epistola, quae illud commendet; potuit etiam maturius mitti. Postremum hoc Mingarellus statuebat collocandum esse Carmen xi ante x. Nam v. 14 promitti carmen; forte idem illud, quod nunc decimum est'.

Lokroi. This seems to square with *Ol.* 10.110-11, where the speaking subject claims to have witnessed the victory of Hagesidamos at Olympia: τὸν εἶδον κρατέοντα χερὸς | ἀλκᾷ, ‘I saw him being victorious with the might of his arm’. On this logic, even the phrase μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι ὑστέρων ἀρχά λογῶν, ‘sweet-voiced songs, the beginning for later words of praise’ at *Ol.* 11.4-5 can be understood as a promise of future encomia. Following these clues, Mingarelli concluded that *Ol.* 11 was most likely composed immediately after the victory and performed on the spot at Olympia. *Ol.* 10, on the other hand, must have been composed later and performed during the official celebration of Hagesidamos’ victory on his triumphant arrival from the games.

Following Heyne, Mingarelli’s interpretation was received with much enthuseasm first by August Boeckh, who in his monumental edition of 1821 used it as a paradigm for explaining all other pairs of epinicians which comprise a shorter and a longer poem and which are addressed to the same honorand.<sup>6</sup> Within less than a century after the publication of Boeckh’s commentary it became a default scholarly position to associate the longer odes with celebrations at victor’s homeland, while the shorter ones, including those which are not paired,<sup>7</sup> with improvised performance at the site of the games; that is, in an entirely circular fashion brevity of the shorter odes was assumed to imply impromptu composition, and impromptu composition was assumed to imply composition at the site of the victory.

There are very few scholars nowadays who agree with Mingarelli and Boeckh that the futures in *Ol.* 11 anticipate the performance of *Ol.* 10.<sup>8</sup> Although objections against Mingarelli’s interpretation of κελადῆσω can be traced as far back as the edition

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<sup>6</sup> The poems of Bacchylides were of course not available to Boeckh. However, after the discovery of the Bacchylides papyrus in 1896 his theory gained even more headway because some of the new poems complied with the pattern of *Ol.* 10 and *Ol.* 11, i.e. a longer and a shorter ode for the same individual.

<sup>7</sup> *Ol.* 12, *Ol.* 14, *Pyth.* 7, *Isth.* 3.

<sup>8</sup> Verdenius *ad loc.* and Pfeijffer (1997) 61-5 are notable exceptions.



of de Jongh (1865),<sup>9</sup> the point was for the first time clearly impressed on Pindarists by Bundy, who pointed out that the verb must be taken in close conjunction with the participial phrase *Ζεφυρίων Λοκρῶν γενεὰν ἀλέγων*, i.e. ‘I shall adorn your crown with my song by paying respect to the Lokrians’.<sup>10</sup> Mingarelli and his followers seem to have ignored the fact that the poet makes good on his promise in the immediately following lines (16-20), where he praises the native qualities of the Lokrians, their supreme courage (*αἰχματάν*) and intelligence (*ἀκρόσοφόν*). If so, it is clear that *κελαδήσω* does not require an extra-carminal referent. The poet’s intention is fulfilled within the bounds of the present ode.<sup>11</sup>

The future tense of *ἐγγυάσομαι* has a somewhat different coloring, but it too can hardly be taken to imply that the poet will give a pledge at some point in the future. It simply expresses ‘determination and resolve in the face of opposition’<sup>12</sup> and lends additional force to the speaker’s asseveration: ‘Muses, I *bet* you will come to people who are hospitable etc.’ The imperative *ἔνθα συγκωμάξατε* (16) and the future infinitive *ἀφίξεσθαι* (19) also provide no decisive evidence for performance outside Lokroi. The use of *ἔνθα* with the imperative is, however, susceptible of two interpretations. First, as noticed by Race, the adverb is quite at home in the context of a kletic hymn. He cites Sapph. 2.13-16 (*LP*), where the speaker summons Aphrodite to visit her sanctuary at some unidentified location, presumably Lesbos:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> ‘Non ad futuri carminis pollicitationem hoc pertinet, sed ad hoc praesens carmen’. Mezger (1880) and Puech (1923) are quite unusual among their contemporaries in following de Jongh.

<sup>10</sup> Bundy (1962) 20-2, Race (2004) 86-92.

<sup>11</sup> Bundy’s sweeping assertion that ‘the promise [contained in such futures] is often fulfilled by pronunciation of the word itself’ is only partially correct. A number of post-Bundyan studies demonstrated that the nuance of meaning and the precise temporal range of future reference can be different in various contexts. For a detailed discussion of the issue, see Pelliccia (1995) 319-32. Pelliccia defines *κελαδήσω* as belonging to the category of ‘intra-carminal programmatic futures’. Ferrari (1998) 182-3 proposes a compromise solution: the future *κελαδήσω* is extra-carminal, but it refers to the performance of *Ol.* 11 at Lokroi. This view, however, has not won approval. For a survey of scholarship on the whole question, see Race (2004) 86-92.

<sup>12</sup> Pelliccia’s (1995) 325 second category: ‘future performative utterances’. The ‘opposition’ in many cases is purely hypothetical.

<sup>13</sup> Race (2004) 85 n. 28.

ἔνθα δὴ σὺ στέμ<ματ'> ἔλοισα  
Κύπρι χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν  
ἄβρωσ ὁμ<με>μείχμενον θαλίαισι  
νέκταρ οἶνοχόαισον

There, Cypris, take the garlands and pour  
gracefully into golden cups  
the nectar that is mixed with our celebrations.

The fragment starts with the emphatic δεῦρόν μ' (1), 'hither to me', and continues with the description of the natural beauty of the sanctuary. Then comes the passage starting with ἔνθα, which can be taken either as a relative ('[a place] where you must take the garlands and pour the nectar etc.') or as a resumptive demonstrative ('take the garlands there [i.e. the place I have just described to you and where I am at the moment] and pour the nectar'). In either case δεῦρόν μ' in the opening of the poem leaves no doubt about the location of the speaker. It is the sanctuary where the goddess is being summoned. *Ol.* 11 is considerably less clear in this respect because there is no other word, like δεῦρόν in Sapph. fr. 2.1, to identify the location of the speaking subject. Here too one might suggest that ἔνθα is either a relative (i.e. '[Lokroi, a place] where you must go to join the revel') or demonstrative ('Go there and join the revel!'). The latter seems to imply that the speaker either actually *is* or imagines himself as being outside Lokroi. A somewhat similar situation presents itself in the opening of *Nem.* 9, where the Muses are encouraged to join the procession bound from the site of the games at Sikyon to the place of the victory celebrations at Aitna:

Κωμάσομεν παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος Σικυωνόθε, Μοῖσαι,  
τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν, ἔνθ' ἀναπεπταμέναι  
ξείνων νενίκανται θύραι,  
ὄλβιον ἐς Χρομίου  
δῶμ'.

(*Nem.* 9.1-3)

Let us go in revelry from Apollo at Sikyon, Muses,  
to the newly founded Aitna, where the

wide-opened gates are overwhelmed by guests,  
to Chromios' blessed home.

Some scholars<sup>14</sup> went so far as to assume that the poem was in fact intended for performance at Sikyon, ignoring the fact that the journey of poetic discourse from the site of the victory to the site of festivities is an epinician *topos*.<sup>15</sup> As rightly suggested by Braswell, it takes only some forty-odd lines for this imaginary procession to arrive at the house of the victor in Sicily and to join the symposium there, a place where they were from the very beginning.<sup>16</sup>

ἡσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ  
    μὲν συμπόσιον· νεοθαλῆς δ' αὖξεται  
μαλθακᾶ νικαφορία σὺν αἰοιδᾷ·  
    θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατῆρα φωνὰ γίνεται.  
ἐγκιρνάτω τίς νιν, γλυκὺν κώμου προφάταν. (Nem. 9.48-50)

Peace loves  
    the symposium, but victory increases  
with new bloom to the accompaniment of gentle song,  
    and the voice becomes confident beside the winebowl.  
Let someone mix that sweet prompter of the revel.

That the sites of the games should be the starting point of such imaginary processions is not at all surprising: these were the places from where epinician poets drew much of their inspiration and subject-matter. It is quickly apparent, then, that even if the speaking subject in *Ol.* 11 presents himself as being outside of Lokroi, the conceit cannot tell us anything about the actual performance context of the ode.

Being content to point out the proper significance of the futures in *Ol.* 11, Bundy did not contemplate the natural consequences of his analysis for the

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<sup>14</sup> E.g., Hubbard (1992) 80.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Most (1985) 264, comparing *Ol.* 1.7-9 μηδ' Ὀλυμπίας ἀγῶνα φέρτερον αὐδάσομεν | ὅθεν ὁ πολύφατος ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται | σοφῶν μητίεσσι, 72.7-9 (Ebert) θεσπεσία δὲ Πόδοι ποτὶ πατρίδα φάμα | ἵκετ' ἀείμναστον χάριμα φέρουσα πόνων, | ἐφ' οἷς τὸ καλλίνικον ἀείσθημι κλέος. Compare also the opening of *Nem.* 3, where the Muse is urged to go to Aigina, although her starting point is unclear.

<sup>16</sup> Braswell, *Nem.* 9.48-55 n.

performance context of this ode. It was Barrett who made a logical step further.<sup>17</sup> In his unpublished talk, delivered only a few years after the publication of Bundy's pathfinding studies, he adopted a fairly similar view with regard to the meaning of the futures at *Ol.* 11.13-19. However, unlike Bundy, he also insisted that the language of *Ol.* 11 in fact offers sufficient evidence against performance of the ode on the spot at the venue of the games. He argued that '[i]f an ode is sung at Olympia, it is sung by the victor's friends and relatives in the first exultant moment of celebration, sung in token of present joy and gladness: its function is to praise the victor in the very moment of his triumph. Make the epode refer to the future, and the praise has gone: to be replaced by a mere promise of praise in time to come'.<sup>18</sup> It is indeed very difficult to imagine that the celebrations which took place on the last day of the games, arguably the happiest moment in the life of the victor, would focus on imminent departure and future festivities instead of savoring the bliss of the present.

The argument so far can be summed up as follows. Since Boeckh's theory, accepted by almost all modern scholars, is essentially a by-product of Mingarelli's mistaken interpretation of the futures in *Ol.* 11, it is a striking paradox that the theory survives the rebuttal of the arguments on which it was originally based.<sup>19</sup> So far as I can see, there is only one way to explain this paradox: those who maintain that short epinician odes were performed at the site of the games are simply not aware of the origin of their professed view.<sup>20</sup> The idea, much like Pindar's imaginary revels, has been traveling from one scholarly work to another, without ever being seriously probed.

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<sup>17</sup> Barrett (2007) 54-72.

<sup>18</sup> Barrett (2007) 59.

<sup>19</sup> The words of Barrett (2007) 164 used in an entirely different context seem very apposite here: 'falsehood, once established, will commonly survive the loss of the evidence that established it'.

<sup>20</sup> Recent commentary by Willcock (1995) is exemplary of modern confusion. He sees no inherent contradiction in following Bundy's interpretation of the futures and yet maintaining that *Ol.* 11 is 'the most secure example' of an ode produced on the spot.

### *Further Evidence*

One might object that the flaws of Mingarelli's interpretation of *Ol.* 11 do not necessarily undermine the validity of Boeckh's theory because the latter is supported by the evidence of other epinician odes. Sifting through the entire corpus of epinician poetry, there seem to be only five passages which may in some way suggest impromptu performance at the site of the games, and I will now turn to examine these passages in some detail.

(1) *Ol.* 4.1-12:

Ἐλατὴρ ὑπέρτατε βροντᾶς ἀκαμαντόποδος  
Ζεῦ· τεαὶ γὰρ ὦραι  
ὑπὸ ποικιλοφόρμιγγος ἀοιδᾶς ἐλίσσόμεναί μ' ἔπεμψαν  
ὑψηλοτάτων μάρτυρ' ἀέθλων.  
ξείνων δ' εὖ πρᾶσσόντων ἔσαναν αὐτίκ'  
ἀγγελίαν ποτὶ γλυκεῖαν ἐσλοί· ἀλλὰ Κρόνου  
παῖ , ὃς Αἴτναν ἔχεις ἵπον ἀνεμόεσσαν  
ἐκατογκεφάλᾳ Τυφῶνος ὀβρίμου,  
Οὐλυμπιονίκαν  
δέξαι Χαρίτων θ' ἑκατι τόνδε κῶμον,  
  
χρονιώτατον φάος εὐρυσθενέων ἀρετᾶν. Ψαύμιος γὰρ  
ἵκει ὀχέων, ὃς ἐλαίᾳ στεφανωθείς Πισάτιδι κῦδος  
ὄρσαι  
σπεύδει Καμαρίνα.

Driver most high of thunder with untiring feet,  
Zeus; on you I call because your Horai

in their circling round have sent me, accompanied by  
song with the lyre's varied tones  
as a witness of the loftiest games;  
and when guest-friends are successful,  
good men are immediately cheered at the sweet news.  
But son of Kronos, you who rule Mt. Aitna,  
windy burden for hundred-headed Typhos the mighty,  
receive an Olympic victor,  
and, with the aid of the Graces, this celebratory revel,

longest-lasting light for achievements of great strength.

For it comes in honor of the chariot of Psaumis,  
who, crowned with Pisan olive, is eager to arouse  
glory for Kamarina.

The ode celebrates the victory of Psaumis of Kamarina in the chariot race. It forms a pair with *Ol.* 5, a poem addressed to the same victor but most likely celebrating his later victory in the mule-race.<sup>21</sup> With some exceptions,<sup>22</sup> it is generally assumed that *Ol.* 4 was performed at Olympia. In his commentary, Boeckh argues the case as follows:<sup>23</sup>

‘Iam horum carminum (i.e. *Ol.* 4 and 5) prius Olympiae et scriptum et cantatum esse poeta ipse docet. Praesentem esse testatur verbis *τεαὶ γὰρ Ὡραι μ’ ἐπεμψαν ὑψηλοτάτων μάρτυρ’ ἀέθλων*, ubi etsi *μάρτυρ’ ἀέθλων* poeta vocatur, quod carmine de certaminibus testimonium dicit, utpote victorum praecox; tamen nisi ipse affuisset, non potuisset sese ab Horis tempestatum praesidibus allegatum affirmare: statimque post victoriam compositum Carmen demonstrant haec: *ξείνων δ’ εἰδὲ πρασσόντων ἔσαναν αὐτίκ’ ἀγγελίαν ποτὶ γλυκεῖαν ἔσλοί*: unde odae brevitās excusatur [...]. Hinc quod nondum divulgata nec Camarinam delata victoriae fama est, vs. 12. 13. de Psaumide dicitur: *κῦδος ὄρσαι σπεύδει Καμαρίνα*: neque obstat Aetnae vs. 7. invecta mentio, quae Siculi patriae conveniebat, etiamsi Carmen non in Sicilia caneretur. Postremo vs. 7-10. intelligitur, pompae et comissationi Carmen inservisse, quae Olympio Iovi gratiarum agendarum causa haberetur’.

None of this stands up to scrutiny. First, the fact that the speaker styles himself a ‘witness of the games’ (3 *μάρτυρ’ ἀέθλων*) does not have to suggest that Pindar himself was present at Olympia because we cannot be sure about the identity of the speaking subject.<sup>24</sup> The statement could be made in the person of the chorus or that of solo-

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<sup>21</sup> See Hamilton (1972) 324 n. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Gildersleeve (1890) 162, Gerber (1987) 8-9.

<sup>23</sup> Boeckh (1821) 143. Notice that contrary to the modern consensus Boeckh assumed that both odes celebrate the same event, the victory of Psaumis in the horse-race.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Gildersleeve (1890) 163. The identity of the lyric ‘I’ is a complicated issue, but one thing is fairly clear: first person statements do not guarantee us access to the person of the poet. For ample bibliography on the first person statements in Pindar, see Clay (1999) 1.

performer as distinct from the poet. Moreover, even if assume that the speaker is Pindar, there would be still no reason to suppose that the poem was composed and performed at the games.<sup>25</sup> The poet could naturally refer to himself as a ‘witness of the games’ even decades after the victory took place. In fact, Boeckh’s over-literalist reading of the passage undermines itself since the tense of *ἔπεμψαν* suggests that the Horai have already dispatched the poet to bear his testimony somewhere else, most naturally in Kamarina.<sup>26</sup>

Second, the statement *ξείνων δ’ εὖ πρασσόντων ἔσαναν αὐτίκ’ ἀγγελίαν ποτὶ γλυκεῖαν ἐσλοῖ* cannot be used as evidence of anything except for what the Greek actually says, i.e. *ἐσλοῖ* (inclusive of the speaker) are exhilarated the moment (*αὐτίκα*) they learn that their friends are successful. It is difficult to see how this gnomic sentiment is relevant to Boeckh’s argument at all. One could suggest that he was misled by *αὐτίκα*, which does not indicate the timing of performance in relation to the moment of Psaumis’ victory but the reaction of *ἐσλοῖ*.

Third, it is unclear why Psaumis’ ‘eagerness to stir glory for Kamarina’ should imply that the news of his victory had not yet reached Sicily. There seem to be no reason why this statement could not be used of the athlete who had already returned to his home town.

Finally, there is no indication whatsoever that the procession mentioned in lines 10-11 takes place at Olympia. On the contrary, the fact that the speaker appeals to Zeus of Aitna makes it far more plausible that it is Sicily. Alternatively, one might suggest that the procession is entirely fictional, i.e. a variation on the komastic topos discussed briefly above: the revelers, who have just arrived from the games at

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Ol.* 10.110-1 *τὸν εἶδον κρατέοντα χερὸς | ἀλκᾷ* which I have mentioned earlier. I doubt that anyone would argue that this statement implies that *Ol.* 10 was performed at Olympia.

<sup>26</sup> Moreover, *μάρτυρ’ ἀέθλων* does not even have to imply ‘eye-witness’: cf. *Nem.* 3.23 and *Parth.* 2.39 (fr. 94b).

Olympia, plead with the divine host of the city for admission.<sup>27</sup>

What is particularly remarkable about Boeckh's interpretation of *Ol.* 4 is not so much the weakness of his argument as the fact that he is at pains to make one. Other scholars, by contrast, simply take performance at the games for granted.<sup>28</sup>

(2) *Pyth.* 6.1-14:

Ἀκούσατ'· ἧ γὰρ ἑλικώπιδος Ἀφροδίτας  
ἄρουραν ἢ Χαρίτων  
ἀναπολίζομεν, ὀμφαλὸν ἐριβρόμου  
χθονὸς ἐς νάϊον προσοιχόμενοι.  
Πυθιόνικος ἔνθ' ὀλβίοισιν Ἐμμενίδαις  
ποταμία τ' Ἀκράγαντι καὶ μὰν Ξενοκράτει  
ἑτοῖμος ὕμνων θησαυρὸς ἐν πολυχρύσῳ  
Ἀπολλωνία τετεείχισται νάπα·

τὸν οὔτε χειμέριος ὄμβρος, ἐπακτὸς ἐλθὼν  
ἐριβρόμου νεφέλας  
στρατὸς ἀμείλιχος, οὔτ' ἄνεμος ἐς μυχοῦς  
ἀλὸς ἄξιοισι παμφόρῳ χεράδει  
τυπτόμενον.

Listen! For indeed we are plowing once again  
the field of bright-eyed Aphrodite  
or of the Graces,  
having reached the enshrined navel of the loudly rumbling earth,  
where at hand for the fortunate Emmenidai

and for Akragas on its river, yes, and for Xenokrates,

a Pythian victor's treasure house of hymns has been built  
in Apollo's valley rich in gold,

one which neither winter rain, coming from abroad  
as a relentless army from a loudly rumbling cloud,  
nor wind shall buffet  
and with their deluge of slit carry into the depths of the sea.

Most scholars are convinced that *Pyth.* 6 premiered at Delphi and that it was sung on

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<sup>27</sup> There is probably also an allusion to the ceremony of *eiselasis*.

<sup>28</sup> E.g., Bowra (1964) 414: '*Olympian* 4 was clearly composed in haste on the spot for the victor's procession to the god on the last day of the festival, and since all the horse events took place on the previous day, this left very little time for composition'.



the way to or in front of the temple of Apollo,<sup>29</sup> as the first lines of the poem seem to imply.<sup>30</sup> Before we move any further, we must keep in mind that *Pyth.* 6 is neither a typical epinician nor a typical short ode. First, although the poem mentions the chariot victory of Xenokrates of Akragas, most of it is devoted to the praise of his son, Thrasyboulos. Second, the ode consists of six strophes and therefore is clearly not a short ode by epinician criteria.

What are exactly the grounds for assuming that *Pyth.* 6 was performed at Delphi? The ode starts with the imperative ἀκούσατε (1), which, according to Burton, ‘brings to mind the throng gathered to witness Thrasybulus’ κῶμος and ... hushed into attention by the singers’ command’.<sup>31</sup> On their way this κῶμος seems to be passing the treasuries of various Greek city states lined up on both sides of the Sacred Way leading toward the temple of Apollo. The view of these buildings prompts the metaphor of the treasure house of hymns which is built for Xenokrates in Apollo’s valley. The participle προσοιχόμενοι (4) has been taken to suggest that the procession is either en route or that it has already reached the temple of Apollo and that the performance of the song takes place there.

The passage, however, raises a few questions: Is this procession real or imaginary? Does the opening of the poem suggest performance at Delphi or does it merely evoke the sanctuary for the audience across the sea at Akragas? These questions are addressed in more detail later.<sup>32</sup> For now, suffice it to say that we cannot rule out either possibility. If elsewhere the poet can describe an imaginary revel marching from the site of the games to victor’s hometown, there is no reason why he cannot describe a procession moving in the opposite direction, i.e. from Akragas to

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<sup>29</sup> Depending on whether we take προσοιχόμενοι as present or perfect.

<sup>30</sup> E.g., Burton (1962) 15, Gentili (1983) 18, Gelzer (1985) 98-9.

<sup>31</sup> Burton (1962) 15.

<sup>32</sup> See Intro IV.

Delphi. Xenokrates' metaphoric treasure house of hymns at Delphi seems to be an obvious destination for the chorus who embark on celebrating his achievements.

One point needs to be emphasized here. The assumption that *Pyth.* 6 made its debut in the context of the procession which took place immediately after Xenokrates' victory would be even more detrimental to Boeckh's theory than its opposite for it would suggest that brevity is not a reliable indicator of impromptu performance at the games, in which case the length of short odes would require a different explanation.

### (3) Bacch. 2

ἀ [ . . . ] σεμνοδότειρα Φῆμα,  
 ἐς Κ [έον ι]εράν, χαριτώ-νυμ  
 [ον] φέρουσ' ἀγγελίαν, ὅτι μ [ά  
 ]χας θρασύ χειρ<ος> Ἀρ-γείο  
 [ς ᾗ]ρατο νίκαν,

—  
 καλῶν δ' ἀνέμνασεν ὅς' ἐν κλε [εν] νῶ  
 αὐχένι Ἰσθμοῦ ζαθέαν λιπόντες  
 Εὐξαντίδα νᾶ-σον ἐπεδείξαμεν ἐβδομή-  
 κοντα [σὺ]ν στεφάνοισιν.

—  
 καλεῖ δὲ Μοῦσ' α ὑθιγενῆς  
 γλυκεῖαν αὐλῶν καναχάν,  
 γεραίρους' ἐπινικίοις  
 Πανθείδα φίλον υἱόν.

Ἀ[ῖξον, ᾧ] Kenyon : Ἀ[ῖξεν ᾗ] Levi

Report, giver of majesty, [...]  
 to holy Keos, bringing  
 the message of gracious import,  
 that Argeios won the victory in bold-  
 handed combat,

and reminded us how many achievements  
 we had displayed  
 at the famous neck of the Isthmos  
 when we won seventy crowns  
 leaving the sacred island of Euxantios.

The Muse born on the spot

calls for the sweet sound of pipes  
honoring with victory songs  
the dear son of Pantheides.

In his *editio princeps* of Bacchylides Kenyon maintains that '[t]his short ode was written probably on the spur of the moment by Bacchylides to celebrate his fellow-countryman's victory at Nemea'.<sup>33</sup> The comment shows that Kenyon has no independent evidence but simply applies Boeckh's theory to the newly discovered poems of Bacchylides. His supplement, i.e. *ἄϊξον, ὦ* 'haste [i.e. from here to Keos]' implies that the speaker is located at the Isthmos. Accordingly, the phrase *Μοῦσ' αὐθυγενής*, 'the Muse born on the spot', is taken to suggest impromptu performance at the Isthmos. Kenyon's supplement, however, though accepted in our standard text of Snell-Maehler, is not the only one available. Others preferred Levi's *ἄ* [*ἴξεν ἄ*] and assumed that the poem was performed at Keos. In this case, *αὐθυγενής* can be taken as a reference to the Kean rather than the Isthmian origins of the Muse.<sup>34</sup> It is important to notice that on its own the adjective cannot mean 'at the Isthmos' or 'at Keos', unless there is some other indication of the locale, and such indication is clearly missing.

One might point to a similarly ambiguous use of the adjective in Eur. *Rh.* 895-8, where a Muse bewails Rhesus:

*ἰαλέμωι αὐθυγενεῖ τέκνον  
σ' ὀλοφύρομαι, ὦ ματρὸς  
ἄλγος, οἶαν ἔκελσας ὁδὸν  
ποτὶ Τροίαν.*

With the song of lament produced on the spot,  
I bewail you,  
cause of mother's grief, what  
a journey it was you took to Troy.

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<sup>33</sup> Kenyon (1897) 11.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Jebb, *ad loc.*, who thinks that the poem might have been performed on Argeios' arrival at Keos.

Murray translates: ‘With a dirge of the Thracian mountains, I mourn for thee, O my son’. However, since there is nothing particularly Thracian about the Muse’s song, it seems more likely that the adjective conveys the idea of spontaneity, improvised singing, without any specific geographical reference. Performance of impromptu song of lament in the *Rhesus* can be contrasted with performance of ‘set-laments’ which, according to Plutarch, were forbidden by the legislation of Solon.<sup>35</sup> The same meaning can probably be assumed in the case of Bacch. 2.

(4) Bacch. 4.1-6:

Ἦτι Συρακοσίαν φιλεῖ πόλιν ὁ  
 χρυσοκόμας Ἀπόλλων,  
 ἀστυθεμὶν θ’ Ἰέ[ρω] να γεραίρει· τρίτον γὰρ π  
 [αρ’ ὁ μφα] λὸν ὑψιδείρου χθονὸς Πυ[θ]  
 [ιόνικος ἀ[ . . . ]ται ὦ [κυ] πόδων ἀρ[ετῆ]  
 σὺν ἵππων.

5. Kenyon ἀ[είδε]ται

Apollo of the golden hair still  
 loves the city of Syracuse  
 and honors the just ruler of cities, Hieron,  
 because for the third time by the navel of the high-ridged land he  
 [...] as a Pythian victor, on account of his swift-footed horses.

Bacch. 4 forms a pair with Pindar’s *Pyth.* 1, a longer ode which celebrates the same victory. In accordance with Boeckh’s theory, it has been assumed that Pindar’s ode was performed in Sicily, whereas that of Bacchylides at Delphi in the immediate aftermath Hieron’s victory. If accepted, this scenario raises some interesting questions. In *Pyth.* 1 Pindar says that the herald at the games announced Hieron as the ruler of Aitna (33 *κάρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγγέλλων Ἰέρωνος ὑπὲρ καλλινίκου*). Bacchylides, on the

<sup>35</sup> Plut. *Solon* 21.6 ἀμυχὰς δὲ κοπτομένων καὶ τὸ θρηγνεῖν πεποιημένα καὶ τὸ κωκύειν ἄλλον ἐν ταφαῖς ἐτέρων ἀφείλεν (i.e. Solon).

other hand, clearly refers to him as the ruler of Syracuse and does not mention Aitna at all. The difference suggests that either Pindar did not know what the actual proclamation was or that Bacchylides was not present at the games, a difficult choice indeed. Although scholars have come up with various speculations, the most popular view is that Pindar wrote his poem for performance at Aitna and therefore manipulated the facts in order to advance Hieron's political agenda.

But how do we know that Bacch. 4 was performed at Delphi in the first place? The ode itself provides no clear indication. Scholars, starting with Kenyon, assumed that it must have been performed at the games simply because it is short. Much depends on the supplement in line 5. If *αἰδέεται* is correct, one could reasonably assume that the ode was performed at Delphi. But even so this does not tell us anything about the circumstances of performance of other short odes.

(5) Bacch. 6:

*Λάχων Διὸς μεγίστου  
λάχε φέρτατον πόδεσσι  
κύδος ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ προχοαῖσ[...]  
δι' ὅσσα πάροιθεν  
ἀμπελοτρόφον Κέον  
ἄεισάν ποτ' Ὀλυμπία  
πύξ τε καὶ στάδιον κρατεῦ [σαν]  
στεφάνοις ἐθείρας*

*νεανίαί βρύνοντες.  
σὲ δὲ νῦν ἀναξιμόλπου  
Οὐρανίας ὕμνος ἔκατι Νί-  
κ[ας, ] Ἀριστομένει-ον ὦ  
ποδάνεμον τέκος, γεραίρει  
προδόμοις αἰοι-  
δαῖς ὅτι στάδιον κρατήσας  
Κέον εὐκλέϊξας.*

Lachon by the speed of his feet latched on to the highest glory from great Zeus at the mouth of the Alpheus [...] for which in earlier days young men, their hair luxuriant with garlands, sang at Olympia of vine-nurturing Keos as the winner in sprint and

boxing; and now to you, wind-footed son of Aristomenes, thanks to Victory the hymn of song-ruling Urania gives praise in an ode sung before the house, since by winning the sprint you brought fame to Keos.<sup>36</sup>

The ode celebrates the same victory as Bacch. 7, a poem which is only partially preserved and may well have been considerably longer than Bacch. 6. This possibility supports the assumption that Bacch. 6 must have been performed at Olympia. Commentators suggest that the phrase *προδόμοις ἀοιδαῖς* (Bacch. 6.14), lit. ‘songs sung in front of the house’, refers either to (a) the temple of Zeus<sup>37</sup> or (b) the house where Lachon sojourned during his participation in the games.<sup>38</sup> Neither of course is a necessary assumption unless one is predisposed to explain the ode’s brevity in Boeckhian terms. The phrase might just as easily refer to the song of the *κῶμος* performed on the arrival to the house of the victor. That the house in question was located at Keos is I think more naturally suggested by the internal logic of the poem which revolves around the following contrast:

δι’ ὅσσα πάροιθεν  
 ἀμπελοτρόφον (a<sup>1</sup>) Κέον  
 ἄεισάν (b<sup>1</sup>) ποτ’ (c<sup>1</sup>) Ὀλυμπία  
 πύξ τε καὶ στάδιον κρατεῦ [σαν]  
 στεφάνοις ἐθείρας  
  
 (d<sup>1</sup>) νεανίαί βρύοντες.  
 (a<sup>2</sup>) σὲ δὲ (b<sup>2</sup>) νῦν ἀναξιμόλπου  
 Οὐρανίας (d<sup>2</sup>) ὕμνος ἔκατι Νί-  
 κ[ας, ] Ἀριστομένει-  
 ον ὦ ποδάνεμον τέκος,  
 γεραίρει (c<sup>2</sup>) προδόμοις (x = at Keos)  
 ἀοι-δαῖς, ὅτι στάδιον κρατήσας  
 Κέον εὐκλείξας

... for which (b<sup>1</sup>) in earlier days (d<sup>1</sup>) young men, their hair luxuriant with garlands, sang (c<sup>1</sup>) at Olympia of vine-nurturing (a<sup>1</sup>) Keos as the winner in sprint and boxing; and (b<sup>2</sup>) now (a<sup>2</sup>) to you, wind-footed son of Aristomenes, thanks to Victory (d<sup>2</sup>) the

<sup>36</sup> Trans. by Campbell slightly modified.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Maehler, *ad loc.*, comparing Aesch. *Supp.* 494 βωμοὺς προνάους.

<sup>38</sup> Snell (1961) 42\*.

hymn of song- ruling Urania gives praise in an ode sung (c<sup>2</sup>) before the house (x = at Keos) since by winning the sprint you brought fame to Keos.

From the above survey it follows that Boeckh's theory finds no support elsewhere in the epinician corpus. With the exception of Bacch. 4, none of the odes imply performance at the site of the games.

### ***Boeckh's Theory in Contemporary Pindaric Scholarship***

However, before we can draw any conclusions, I would like to briefly address the arguments set forth in an influential article by Thomas Gelzer,<sup>39</sup> who purports to provide additional evidence for the idea of impromptu performance of short odes at the site of the games. Gelzer argues that short odes contain only such information as is absolutely necessary to achieve immediate publicity for the victor. To use Gelzer's own terms, they contain a statement of *Dokumentarische Programm*. This statement breaks down into separate *Programmpunkte*: (a) victor's name, (b) his father's name, (c) his ethnic or civic affiliation, (d) the venue of the games, and (e) the event. For example, the distribution of *Programmpunkte* in *Ol.* 11 can be represented as follows:

ἀφθόνητος δ' αἶνος (d) Ὀλυμπιονίκαις  
οὗτος ἄγκειται.

...  
ἴσθι νῦν, (b) Ἀρχεστράτου  
παῖ τεᾶς, (a) Ἀγησίδαμε, (e) πυγμαχίας ἔνεκεν  
κόσμον ἐπὶ στεφάνῳ χρυσέας ἐλαίας ἀδυμελῇ  
κελαδήσω,

(c) Ζεφυρίων Λοκρῶν γενεὰν ἀλέγων.

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<sup>39</sup> Gelzer (1984), cited with approval by Willcock (1995), Braswell (1999), Hose (2000), Bremer (1990) 43.

According to Gelzer, succinct formulation of the crucial information about the victor and avoidance of all irrelevant subject-matter is the most effective way to advertise the victor and his achievement for the Panhellenic audience assembled at the site of the games. Gelzer assumes that this peculiarity distinguishes short odes from all other epinician odes in the corpus.

This argument rests on several problematic assumptions. First, following Gelzer's logic, one would expect the longer odes to omit the statement of *Dokumentarische Programm* or at least some of its *Programmpunkte* because, if the longer odes were performed at victor's hometown, their target audience (i.e. victor's family, friends, and fellow citizens) would be familiar with the basic facts. Second, following the same logic, one would expect the shorter odes at least sometimes to omit the name of the venue or else give a straightforward deictic indication of the locale, as it is sometimes the case in victory epigrams.<sup>40</sup> Neither expectation is fulfilled.

There is no need to resort to complicated statistics to realize that all epinician odes regardless of their length and circumstances of performance normally provide all the information needed for immediate publicity. The question, then, is not 'Why short odes are so consistent in introducing the statement of *Dokumentarische Programm*?' but 'Why is it such a prominent element for the epinician genre in general?' Part of the answer is quite simple: the presence of the basic information about the victory and the victor is the only criterion that defines the poem as epinician. However, this alone cannot account for an admittedly formulaic or documentary manner in which this information is presented. Consider, for example, the opening of *Nem.* 5:

Οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ', ὥστ' ἐλινύσοντα ἐργά-  
ζεσθαι ἀγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος  
έσταότ'· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας

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<sup>40</sup> Ebert 21 Πύκτας τόνδ' ἀνέθηκεν ἀπ' εὐδόξοιο Κύνισκος | Μαντινέας νικῶν, πατρὸς ἔχων ὄνομα (name of the venue omitted), Ebert 7 Ὑκυδρόμας Λύκος Ἰσθμὶ ἄπαξ, δύο δ' ἐνθάδε νίκαις | Φειδώλα παίδων ἐστεφάνωσε δόμους (deictic).



ὀλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτω, γλυκεῖ ἀοιδά,  
 στεῖχ' ἀπ' (c) Αἰγίνας διαγγέλλοις, ὅτι  
 (b) Λάμπωνος υἱὸς (a) Πυθέας εὐρυσθενῆς  
 νίκη (d) Νεμείους (e) παγκρατίου στέφανον

(Nem. 5.1-5)

I am not a sculptor, so as to fashion stationary  
 statues that stand on their same base. Rather, on board of every  
 ship and in every boat, sweet song,  
 go forth from Aigina and spread the news that  
 Lampon's mighty son Pytheas  
 has won the crown for the pancratium in Nemea's games.

The message that the poet envisions his song as spreading around Greece bears a very close resemblance to the ritual formula of proclamation uttered by the herald (*ἀγγελία*) as he placed the victory crown on the head of the victor during the ceremony of coronation (*στεφάνωσις*).<sup>41</sup> Such imitation of the heraldic utterance is a feature common to both epinician poetry and victory epigrams. Both media of commemoration clearly assert their function as 'transmitters of the proclamation'.<sup>42</sup> It has been plausibly suggested that the main function of victor statues inscribed with dedicatory epigrams is to simulate the original moment of crowning.<sup>43</sup> The reader of the epigram standing in front of the statue would be in the position of the herald during the ceremony of coronation. There is hardly any coincidence that the statues themselves often depict the victor wearing only a fillet but not yet crowned, allowing the reader of the epigram to literally re-enact the original ceremony by reading the inscription and placing the crown on the head of the statue.

The purpose of the heraldic *ἀγγελία* in the victory odes is similarly mimetic. Epinician poets attempt to bring back the moment of the victory by incorporating the basic information about the victor in a way that would evoke the phrasing of the

<sup>41</sup> Bergk *ad loc.*, Nash (1991) 25ff.

<sup>42</sup> Day (1995) 65.

<sup>43</sup> Kurke (1993) 131-63.

heraldic proclamation.<sup>44</sup> Though clearly similar to statues and victory epigrams, epinician poetry has one significant advantage: the proclamation that it carries is not confined to a specific location but is repeated whenever and wherever the song is performed. Given that this phenomenon is not characteristic of short odes exclusively, Gelzer's argument appears to be a case of special pleading.

Finally, it remains unclear why the poet would want to incorporate a statement so closely resembling the heraldic proclamation into the songs which were supposed to be performed within a few hours of the actual proclamation. One is left wondering whether the proclamation itself was less effective means of achieving the so much desired publicity.<sup>45</sup> The combination of these problems renders Gelzer's argument improbable.

### *Alternative Scenarios*

At this point I should make it clear that I do not rule out the possibility of epinician performance at the site of the games. When in *Ol.* 10 Pindar describes how at the conclusion of the first Olympic games the entire sanctuary resounded with singing 'in the fashion of victory celebration', there is every reason to suppose that he refers to the common practice of his own day.<sup>46</sup> Another important example is found in Bacch.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *Pyth.* 9.1-4 Ἐθέλω χαλκάσπιδα Πυθιονίκαν | σὺν βαθυζώνοισιν ἀγγέλλων | Τελεσικράτη Χαρίτεσσι γεγωνεῖν | ὄλβιον ἄνδρα διωξίππου στεφάνωμα Κυράνας. Here the speaker explicitly poses as a herald. Nisetich (1975) 64 commenting on these lines observes that '[b]y adopting the persona of th[e] herald, Pindar takes us in a concrete and definite sense back to the occasion of the ode. The audience', he says, 'could not have missed the echo in these opening words: they recall, they repeat the victor's coronation at Delphi'.

<sup>45</sup> It is possible that the victors were proclaimed twice, first immediately after the contest, and then in the joint ceremony held on the final day of the games. For crowning after each separate contest, cf. Paus. 5.21.14 οὕτω δὴ τὸν τε Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος ἦκεν οὐ κατὰ προθεσμίαν τῶν πυκτῶν, τούτους μὲν οἱ Ἥλαιοι τοῦ ἀγώνος ἀπελαύνουσι, τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ δὲ τὸν στέφανον παριάσιν ἀκονιτί· ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κατεσκευάσατό τε τοῖς ἱμάσιν ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐσδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἤπτετο ἐπικειμένου τε ἤδη τὸν κότινον καὶ καταπεφηνότος ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας. See further Drees (1967) 85.

<sup>46</sup> *Ol.* 10.76-7 αἰδετο δὲ πᾶν τέμενος τερπναῖσι θαλίαις | τὸν ἐγκώμιον ἀμφὶ τρόπον.

6, which mentions a chorus of young men who once sang *at Olympia* (6 *ἄεισάν ποτ' Ὀλυμπίᾳ*), celebrating the Kean victories in boxing and stadion.<sup>47</sup> Although such glimpses are few and far between, they leave no room for doubt that at least some epinician odes were performed in the immediate aftermath of the victory. However, as I hope to have shown above, there is no reason to suppose that any of the surviving short odes (with a possible exception of Bacch. 4) *must have been* performed under such circumstances. It is true that their length is likely to be an indication of extempore composition, but this kind of composition need not be associated with performance at the site of the games to the exclusion of other venues.<sup>48</sup>

But if so, where were they performed? I suggest that unless we can produce good evidence to the contrary, we should always start from the assumption that short odes were no different from the rest in that they premiered at victor's home town in the contexts about which we happen to know a tiny bit more.

So far scholars are unanimous about two possible contexts of epinician performance. The first category is that of public performance. Success in a panhellenic festival was an event of profound significance not only for the victor and his family but also for the entire community. The achievements of the athlete conferred reflected glory upon his city and were a source of local pride.<sup>49</sup> Among many privileges, victors in the panhellenic games were awarded the honor of *eisēlasis*, a triumphant entry into

<sup>47</sup> Bacch. 6.3-6 *πάροιθεν | ἀμπελοτρόφον Κέον | ἄεισάν ποτ' Ὀλυμπίᾳ*.

<sup>48</sup> It is worth noting that the idea of improvised singing at the site of the games was certainly familiar to Alexandrian scholars, although it is not clear what they thought that the typical length of such poems could be. Cf. Σ *Nem.* 3.1c *Ἀρίσταρχός* (offering a solution to the zetema 'Why is Pindar inviting the Muse to go to Aigina, while the chorus are waiting at Nemea?') *φησιν, ἥτοι τὸν χορὸν ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς νίκης αὐτοσχέδιον τινα ἐπίνικον ᾄσαι, ἢ τὸν Ἀρχιλόχου Καλλίνικον, οὗ καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον μνημονεύειν διὰ τούτων (Ol. 9.1): τὸ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος φωνᾶν, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. μεταβάντος οὖν τοῦ χοροῦ εἰς τὴν Αἴγιαν καὶ μέλλοντος ᾄσειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πινδάρου πεποιημένον εἰκότως φάναι· ὕδατι γὰρ μένοντ' ἐπ' Ἀσωπίῳ μελιγαρύων τέκτονες κώμων νεανίαι· ὥσθ' ὁ βούλεται εἰπεῖν, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ τὸν αὐτοσχέδιον ὕμνον τεκτῆνάμενοι χοροὶ ἀναμένουσί σε ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ᾄσόμενοι τὸν ὑπὸ Πινδάρου ποιηθέντα ἐπίνικον*. Given that Archilochus' chant and αὐτοσχέδιον ἐπίνικον are treated as interchangeable, it is a plausible guess that Aristarchus considered such epinicians short.

<sup>49</sup> Compare the proud vaunt in Bacch. 2.6-10 *καλῶν δ' ἀνέμνασεν ὅσ' ἐν κλεινῷ | αὐχένι Ἰσθμοῦ ζαθέαν | λιπόντες Εὐξαντίδα νᾶ- | σον ἐπεδείξαμεν* ('we Keans') *ἐβδομή- | κοντα σὺν στεφάνοισιν*.

the city. The ceremony was attended by a large concourse of citizens who expressed their admiration for the victor and his achievement by showering him with leaves and flowers (*φυλλοβολία*) and uttering the traditional formulae of blessing (*μακαρισμοί*).<sup>50</sup> Apart from the solemn procession, public festivities of this sort could also feature dedication of the victory crowns to a god or a local hero and possibly a civic banquet. There can be little doubt that at least some epinicians must have been performed in this context.<sup>51</sup>

The second category is the symposium, a banquet for a select company of kinsmen and friends hosted by the victor at a private house.<sup>52</sup> A sumptuous banquet featuring epinician songs could take place on the same day as the public celebrations or somewhat later. The dramatic frame of Plato's *Symposium* offers a useful analogy: the private party in honor of Agathon's victory in the tragic contest takes place on the day following the sacrificial feast and large scale public festivities (*ἐπιινίκια*).<sup>53</sup>

Despite our general familiarity with the circumstances of epinician performance, it is impossible to identify the context of a given poem with any amount of certainty. As we have seen earlier in this chapter, internal evidence is a very treacherous guide. On the face of it, it might be tempting to assume that odes which refer to public space were actually performed in the context of public or religious ceremonies. But in reality this is hardly more than a mere guesswork.<sup>54</sup> By the same token, we cannot assume that the presence of sympotic and komastic themes necessarily precludes public performance.<sup>55</sup> Both options require careful consideration regardless of the inferences that might be drawn from the text.

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<sup>50</sup> For the evidence, see Currie (2005) 139-41.

<sup>51</sup> Slater (1984) 241-64.

<sup>52</sup> Some scholars, like Radt (1955) 89, would even go so far as to assume that epinician odes were always performed at the banquet.

<sup>53</sup> Plat. *Symp.* 174a.

<sup>54</sup> See discussion in Intro IV.

<sup>55</sup> As recently argued by Carey (2007) 205, 'Pindar's feasts are probably grand affairs, and his representation of them as informal symposia is a fiction'.

This uncertainty prompts further questions: How do the short odes fit into this problematic dichotomy of public vs. private performance? Why would an epinician poet compose a short ode for the same occasions on which performance of longer odes seems to have been the rule? With the amount of evidence that we have none of these questions can be answered with any amount of certainty.

In his study of the form of Pindaric epinician, Hamilton has rightly observed that the most salient feature of short epinician odes is the absence of myth. This feature allows us to define them as the ‘non-myth odes’.<sup>56</sup> However, *Ol.* 4 is a notable exception for it concludes with a mythical exemplum (19-27):

ἄπερ Κλυμένιοιο παῖδα Λαμνιάδων  
 γυναικῶν ἔλυσεν ἐξ ἀτιμίας.  
 χαλκείοισι δ' ἐν ἔντεσι νικῶν δρόμον ἔειπεν  
 Ὑψιπυλείᾳ μετὰ στέφανον ἰών· ‘οὗτος ἐγὼ  
 ταχυτάτῃ· χεῖρες δὲ καὶ ἦτορ ἴσον. φύονται δὲ  
 καὶ νέοις ἐν ἀνδράσιν πολιαί  
 θαμάκι παρὰ τὸν ἀλικίας ἑοικότα χρόνον.’

And this very thing (i.e. *διάπειρα*) rescued Klymenos' son  
 from the scorn  
 of the Lemnian women.  
 When he won the race in bronze armor,  
 he said to Hypsipyle as he stepped forward for his crown,  
 ‘Such am I for speed;  
 My hands and heart are just as good. Even on young men  
 grey hairs often grow  
 before the fitting time of their life.

How would the audience know that the ode is in fact a short one and that the myth is about to end? Hamilton offers some sensible comments: ‘If they did not know beforehand that the ode was a non-myth they might think the mythic material in the epode was Myth out of position (no stanza of transition), and therefore about to be broken. In this case they would be disappointed when the ode ends at the triad break.

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<sup>56</sup> Hamilton (1974) 29.

This presents a dilemma. The easiest solution is to assume that non-myth odes were signaled by some external phenomenon that we know nothing about'.<sup>57</sup> As I have suggested in the previous section (Intro II), this external phenomenon may have something to do with improvised performance in the context of the symposium. However, given the dearth of evidence, further speculation is unwarranted.

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 41.

#### IV. ISTHMIAN 4: ἐνάργεια AND PERFORMANCE OF PINDAR'S ODES

##### *Herakleia and Performance of Isthmian 4*

*Isth.* 4 has garnered much scholarly interest as our earliest source for the Herakleia festival at Thebes. The ode provides invaluable information about the mythical occasion of the festival, its venue, rituals, and time frame. Recently, it has become a conventional wisdom among scholars of Pindar to assume that *Isth.* 4 was itself originally performed during the Herakleia. This view finds its best expression in Krummen (1990) 33-97, the most thorough and influential study of the ode to date. This study is a bold if entirely speculative attempt to reconstruct the circumstances of performance on the basis of the text. Its corner stone is the idea that the specificity of Pindar's account of the festival makes better sense on the assumption that the ode for Melissos was actually performed in the context of the festivals. Two arguments are produced to support this assumption. First, the speaking subject of the ode seems to be directly involved in the ritual activity which was a part of the festival:

τῷ μὲν Ἀλεκτρᾶν ὕπερθεν δαῖτα πορσύνοντες ἄστοί  
καὶ νεόδματα στεφανώματα βωμῶν αὔξομεν,  
ἔμπυρα χαλκοαρᾶν ὀκτὼ θανόντων. (Isth. 4.61-3)

In his honor above the Elektran Gates we citizens prepare plentiful feasts and honor the crowns of the altars,  
burnt offerings for the eight bronze armed warriors who are dead.<sup>1</sup>

The present tense of αὔξομεν, according to Krummen, refers to the actual moment of performance; presumably, the preparation of the feast for Herakles and honoring of the crowns are all actions which take place at the very moment of the utterance. Second,

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<sup>1</sup> The passage poses a number of significant problems. These are discussed in more detail in the commentary (*Isth.* 4.61-3 n.). Here I render αὔξομεν as 'honor', following Krummen's interpretation, which is however rejected in the commentary.

the epode of the penultimate triad features the story of Herakles' fight with Antaios, an episode of Greek myth which, according to Pausanias, was prominently depicted on the pediment of the Herakles sanctuary at Thebes, the venue of the festival.<sup>2</sup> Unless we are dealing with a pure coincidence, Pindar's choice of the myth in *Isth.* 4 can be interpreted as a nod toward the sculpted pediment of the temple and a further indication that the ode was performed in the vicinity of the temple.

Prima facie this hypothesis is fairly plausible and may even derive oblique support from two other odes in the corpus: *Pyth.* 5 and *Pyth.* 6. The first ode celebrates the chariot victory of Arkesilas, king of Cyrene. It contains references to several landmarks in the city (24 the garden of Aphrodite, 93 tomb of Battos on the Agora, 96 tombs of the Battiad kings on the Acropolis) and mentions the local Apolline festival, the Karneia:

Ἀπολλον, τεῶ,  
 Καρνῆϊ, ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν  
 Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν

(*Pyth.* 5.79-81)

In your feast,  
 Karneian Apollo, we venerate  
 the nobly built city of Kyrene.

As in the case of *Isth.* 4, this kind of internal evidence has led many scholars to assume that the ode was originally performed in public during the celebration of the Karneia, while *σεβίζομεν* has been interpreted by Krummen as exactly parallel to *αὔξομεν* in the passage of *Isth.* 4 cited above. The second ode celebrates the chariot victory of Xenokrates of Akragas. Although, unlike *Isth.* 4 and *Pyth.* 5, it does not

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 9.11.6 Θηβαίοις δὲ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν δώδεκα καλουμένων ἄθλων· καὶ σφισι τὰ ἐς τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐνδεί τὰς ἐπὶ Στυμφάλῳ καὶ ὡς ἐκάθηνεν Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Ἠλείαν χώραν, ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ἡ πρὸς Ἀνταῖον πάλη πεποιήται. Although the famous sculptor of that name is securely dated in 104<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (364 BC) by Pliny (*N.H.* 34.50), it is very likely that we deal here with the work of an elder Praxiteles, a sculptor who flourished some time in the fifth century (R. Lullies s.v. *RE* 22.2 (1954) 1788). We must also notice that at the time of Pausanias the name of Praxiteles could be used as a mere tag emphasizing the lifelike quality and beauty of certain objects of art. See Krummen (1990) 38 n. 11, who cites Theoc. 5.104f. with Gow's note on this passage.



refer to any civic or religious event, it seems to identify the location of its own performance in very explicit terms. In the very first lines of the ode the speakers make an explicit statement that they proceed toward the navel of the earth, a location which has been identified as the temple of Apollo at Delphi:

Ἀκούσατ'· ἧ γὰρ ἑλικώπιδος Ἀφροδίτας  
 ἄρουραν ἢ Χαρίτων  
 ἀναπολίζομεν, ὀμφαλὸν ἐριβρόμου  
 χθονὸς ἐς νάιον προσοιχόμενοι. (Pyth. 6.1-4)

Listen! for indeed we are plowing once again  
 the field of bright-eyed Aphrodite  
 or of the Graces, as we proceed to the enshrined  
 navel of the loudly rumbling earth.

After the summary praise of the victor, his son, and their family, the Emmenidai, the poet draws a parallel between the son of the victor and Antilochus, a young warrior who had sacrificed his life to save his father (27ff.). As noticed by Kenneth Shapiro, this episode of the Trojan saga was depicted on the East frieze of the Siphnian Treasury located on the south side of the Sacred Way in Delphi, on the way of Xenokrates victory procession toward the temple of Apollo.<sup>3</sup> According to Shapiro, 'Pindar does not merely describe the treasury frieze. Rather, searching for a paradigm for Thrasyboulos, he extracts one of the frieze's many elements ... and elaborates on Antilochos' ἔργον πελώριον' (41).<sup>4</sup> This seems to be remarkably similar to what the poet does in *Isth.* 4, where he borrows a mythical paradigm for Melissos from the sculpted pediment of the Herakleion, elaborating on Herakles' achievements in life and his reward after death.

<sup>3</sup> Shapiro (1988) 1-5. See figure 1. The frieze shows Antilochus already dead, as Memnon (left) and Achilles (right) engage in a battle over his body. On the far right, Nestor struck by grief extends his right arm toward his fallen son.

<sup>4</sup> Shapiro (1988) 5. The seemingly spontaneity of this reference requires a very careful orchestration. The timing would be crucial, since the procession had to pass by the treasury at a certain point during the performance.

Considered on its own terms, however, the hypothesis that *Isth.* 4 was performed during the Herakleia is a typical case of *petitio principii*; having first assumed that the festival described in *Isth.* 4 must have something to do with the actual circumstances of performance, Krummen interprets the text in such a way as to corroborate her initial premise. Thus, *αὔξομεν* becomes a reference to the present moment rather than to habitual action, whereas the story of Herakles' fight with Antaios is interpreted as a *demonstratio ad oculos*. It is clear as a bell that the hypothesis is circular since both ancillary arguments are based on the premise that they are used to support.

This basic flaw of logic is further exacerbated by the fallacy inherent in the initial premise, namely, that the circumstances of performance can be safely inferred from the text of a poem. Recently, this kind of approach has fallen out of fashion in the study of Greek lyric, and there is no particular reason why we should make an exception for Pindar.<sup>5</sup> As a matter of fact, common sense suggests exactly the opposite; that is, when the poet describes a certain place or particular situation with abundance of visual and topographical detail, it is far more likely that his target audience have no direct exposure to the object of poetic description. This applies as much to the poetry of Archaic and Classical periods as it does to the mimetic hymns of Callimachus.<sup>6</sup> One could argue, therefore, that the specificity of Pindar's references to

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. 130 *LP*, an 'exile' poem of Alcaeus, where the speaking subject describes himself as hiding in the sanctuary in the remote part of Lesbos away from the political strife of Mytilene. Stehle (1997) 231 suggests that the poem was probably performed in the symposium, and in that case '[t]he singer was of course not actually lurking in the sanctuary. The singer adopts a setting appropriate to first-person lament in order to give immediacy to the idea of exile'. In other words, although the poem may have been indeed written in exile, the specific situation and the immediacy of description are most likely fictional.

<sup>6</sup> Compare e.g. Lefkowitz (1991) 173, who rightly observes that '[a]s Bacchylides in ode 3 tells how Hieron's gold shines from tripods in front of the temple of Apollo, so in *P.* 5 Pindar indicates for an audience who might never see it how Arcesilaus' chariot was hung as a votive offering from the cypress-wood roofbeams of what appears to have been the temple of Apollo'. Yet for some reason she comes short of considering Pindar's precise references to the customs and topography of Cyrene in the same way.

the local festivals, sites, and architectural landmarks could be purely or at least partly mimetic, i.e. appealing to the imagination of the audience rather than reflecting the reality of the original performance. This hitherto unnoticed possibility deserves serious consideration not only in the case of *Isth.* 4 but also in the case of *Pyth.* 5 and *Pyth.* 6.

### ***Pythian 5 and Pindar's Secondary Audiences***

Three passages in the ode are usually taken to suggest public performance in the city. The first refers to 'the garden of Aphrodite', presumably implying that the ode is being performed there:

τῷ σε μὴ λαθέτω,  
Κυράναι γλυκὺν ἄμφι καὶ-  
πον Ἀφροδίτας αἰδούμενον κτλ. (*Pyth.* 5.23-4)

Therefore, do not forget,  
as you are being sung of at the sweet garden  
of Aphrodite in Kyrene etc.

The second passage mentions the tomb of Battos and describes in some detail its location on the agora of Cyrene:

κτίσεν δ' ἄλσέα μείζονα θεῶν,  
εὐθύτομόν τε κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίαις  
ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς  
ἔμμεν ἱππόκροτον  
σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν, ἔνθα πρυ-  
μοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ δίχα κεῖται θανών. (*Pyth.* 5.89-90)

He founded larger sanctuaries for the gods,  
and laid down a paved road, straight and level,  
to echo with horses' hoofs  
in processions in honor of Apollo  
and bring succor to mortals. And there, at the end  
of the agora, he has lain apart since his death.

The third has been taken to suggest that the song is being performed in the proximity of the tombs of the Battiad kings, which are located *πρὸ δωμάτων*:

ἄτερθε δὲ πρὸ δωμάτων ἕτεροι λαχόντες Αἴδαν  
 βασιλέες ἱεροί  
 ἐντί· μεγαλὰν δ' ἄρετάν  
 δρόσῳ μαλθακᾷ  
 ῥανθειςᾶν κώμων ὑπὸ χεύμασιν,  
 ἀκούοντί ποι χθονίᾳ φρενί,  
 σφὸν ὄλβον νύϞ τε κοινὰν χάριν  
 ἔνδικόν τ' Ἀρκεσίλα. (Pyth. 5.96-103)

Apart from him (i.e. Battos) before the palace are the other  
 sacred kings whose lot is Hades;  
 and perhaps they hear with their minds beneath the earth  
 of the great achievements  
 sprinkled with soft dew  
 beneath the outpourings of revel songs—  
 their own happiness and a glory justly shared  
 with their son Arkesilas.

The first passage is of no real value for determining the location of performance since the reference of the phrase *καῖπος Ἀφροδίτας* is uncertain. Most scholars assume that it refers to the sanctuary of Aphrodite or possibly to a grove identified as the site of Apollo's encounter with Cyrene.<sup>7</sup> However, the assumption is not supported by any literary or material evidence, which renders the suggestion of the scholiast (*Σ Pyth.* 5.31) that the phrase refers to the city as a whole at least equally plausible.<sup>8</sup>

The second passage poses no such problems. Archeologists have identified the main road of the agora and suggested two possible candidates for the site of the tomb of Battos (see figure 6). However, the information does not prove to be particularly helpful; the area of the agora, unlike the 'garden of Aphrodite', is not in any way

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Chamoux (1953) 267-9, who locates the temple of Aphrodite in the vicinity of Apollo sanctuary, to the north of the Acropolis; see Map 1. However, he does not provide sufficient evidence that *καῖπος Ἀφροδίτας* is indeed a reference to the temple.

<sup>8</sup> He cites in his support a very similar periphrasis for Cyrene found in Callimachus (fr. 673 ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐσταλέον Χαρίτων λόφον).

linked to the ongoing performance of the ode and therefore is completely uninformative about the location of performance.

The third passage is more promising, even though it is also beset with a number of difficulties. The poet suggests that the dead kings of Cyrene hear the present song in honor of Arkesilas and partake in the victory celebration of their descendant. This gives us good reason to assume that the ode was in fact performed in the vicinity of the royal tombs. But where were these tombs located? The answer depends on the interpretation of *δωμάτων*, which can be taken as a reference to (a) the royal palace on the acropolis, (b) the acropolis itself, and (c) the entire city. As argued by Bruno Currie, given the semantic range of *δώματα* and literary evidence for royal burials at the entrance of the palace, the first possibility seems by far the most likely.<sup>9</sup> Although the area of the Battiad tombs on the Acropolis in the proximity of the royal residence seems to be a very likely spot for victory celebrations and performance of an ode honoring the king of Cyrene, there is no way to determine whether *Pyth.* 5 was performed outside or inside the palace. After all the sole basis for assuming performance on the acropolis outside the palace is our subjective hunch that a song which refers to civic space must have been performed in public.

But let us suppose, for the sake of the argument, that the ode was performed in public. Could it be performed in the context of the Karneia? The possibility is certainly one to be reckoned with, but to assume that *Pyth.* 5.79-81 suggests let alone demonstrates anything of the sort is wishful thinking. The assumption that *σεβίζομεν* refers to the moment of performance is not very compelling either, especially given the broader context of the passage with its emphasis on the perpetuity of an ancient Spartan tradition rather than on *the hic et nunc* of performance. The festival was celebrated annually, and this is what the tense of *σεβίζομεν* most naturally seems to

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<sup>9</sup> See discussion in Malkin (1987) 214-15 and Currie (2005) 229.

suggest.<sup>10</sup> Similar considerations recommend against taking *αὔξομεν* as a reference to the present moment rather than to a habitual action in *Isth.* 4, but more on this in a moment.

Although there can be no certainty about the original context of performance of *Pyth.* 5, the ode raises two important questions. The first question is case specific: Why does the poet pay so much attention to the location of various landmarks of Cyrene in an ode addressed to the Cyreneans, an audience who would have no need for such information? The second is a more general one: Is it at all possible to identify the place and the context of performance on the basis of the text alone?

The first question is almost impossible to answer. Although many would probably dismiss it as a non-issue, I think that what we are dealing here with a very important aspect of Pindar's poetry which has only recently started to attract scholarly attention. As several commentators have pointed out, Pindar seems to anticipate reperformance of his songs outside the original context and composes them with the view to the immediate and more distant audiences at the same time. This seems to be true with regard to his epinician and non-epinician poetry alike. Consider the opening of the paean for the Abderites:

*Ναῖ[δ]ος Θρονίας Ἀβδηρε χαλκοθώραξ  
Ποσ[ε]ιδᾶνός τε παῖ,  
σέθ[ε]εν Ἰάονι τόνδε λαῶ  
παι[ᾶ]να [δι]ώξω  
Δη[ρ]ηγὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πάρ τ' Ἀφρο[δί]ταν (fr. 52b.1-5)*

<sup>10</sup> If the ode was performed during the Karneia, the reference to regular annual celebrations would include the moment of performance. But in that case the fact of performance at the festival needs to be verified by other evidence, not simply inferred from *σεβίζομεν*. For a similar narrative pattern, whereby the transition from the myth (historical excursus in the case of *Pyth.* 5) to the present culminates with the description of a festival with its habitual activities, cf. *Ol.* 1.94-6 ἐν δρόμοις | Πέλοπος, ἵνα ταχυτὰς ποδῶν ἐρίζεται | ἀκμαί τ' ἰσχύος θρασύπονοι, *Nem.* 5.37-9 γαμβρὸν Ποσειδάωνα πείσαις, ὃς Αἰγᾶθεν ποτὶ κλειτὰν θαμὰ νίσεται Ἰσθμὸν Δωρίαν | ἔνθα νιν εὐφρονες ἱλαὶ σὺν καλάμοιο βοᾷ θεὸν δέκονται, | καὶ σθένει γυίων ἐρίζοντι θρασεῖ, *Bacch.* fr. 4.16-19 τὸδε χρ[...]| [ἐξό]χως τίμας' Ἀπόλλων | [ἄλσο]ς, ἔν' ἀγλαῖαι [τ' ἀν-] | [θ]εὺς[ι] καὶ μολπαὶ λίγ[ε]ται.

Abderos of the bronze breastplate, son of the Naiad  
Thronia and Poseidon,  
from you I shall drive this paean  
for the Ionian people  
to Apollo Derenos and Aphrodite ...

The chorus describe themselves as moving from the shrine of Abderos to the shrine of Apollo Derenos and Aphrodite. Since the passage provides information which would be obvious for the Abderite audience witnessing the procession or even participating in it, the passage seems to ‘make more sense if the poet took account of the possibility of secondary performances and display or circulation in written form’.<sup>11</sup> In other words, the poet is targeting the broader Panhellenic audiences with no first-hand familiarity with Abderite cult, providing the minimum information which would enable them to imagine the context of the inaugural performance.

One might reasonably suggest that similar motivation underlies the specificity of Pindar’s references to the topography of Cyrene and to the festival of the Karneia. However, unlike in the case of the paean for the Abderites, we are much less sure about the circumstances of the original performance of *Pyth.* 5. If the ode was performed in public during the Karneia, the references to the festival and the topography of the city may have played a role similar to the description of the procession in the opening of the paean, i.e. they would evoke the original context of performance for secondary audiences. If not, they would serve the purpose of evoking Cyrene and its customs in a more general way, i.e. for primary and secondary audiences at the same time.

This brings us to the second question, which is far easier to settle. The context of the first performance can be reconstructed from the text only when the text unambiguously refers to it. The procession of the Abderite paean is a good example,

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<sup>11</sup> Rutherford (2001) 177.

but a still more secure case would involve the use of deixis. Consider the opening of the famous paean of Limenius (Käppel 46):

[Τ]τ' ἐπὶ τηλέσκοπον τάν[δ]ε Πα[ρνασί]αν [φιλόχορον]  
 δικόρυφον κλειτύν, ὕμνων κ[ατά]ρχ[ε]τε δ' ἐμῶν,  
 Πιερίδες, αἱ νιφοβόλους πέτρας ναίεθ' [Ἑλι]κωνίδ[ας].

Come to this twin-peaked mountain of Parnassus  
 which loves choral dancing and start singing my songs,  
 oh Muses of Pieria, who dwell on the rocks of Helikon.

Instead of elaborating on the location of the mount Parnassus, the poet simply and quite naturally uses the deictic marker, since evidently the audience can see the mountain towering above them with their own eyes. Similarly, in another ceremonial paean (Käppel 45) the speaker identifies the place of performance by simply pointing at it: Apollo is being praised πα[ρ]ρ' ἀκρονιφῇ τόνδε πάγον (i.e. Castalia). The text of both songs was inscribed on the walls of the Athenian treasury at Delphi, and it seems that the authors of these paeans did not contemplate reperformance outside the original context.

Another good example is a ritual paean of Bacchylides, which was performed inside or in the vicinity of a specific sanctuary and which refers to this sanctuary by means of a deictic pronoun:

[κεῖν]ας ἀπὸ ρίζας τὸδε χρ[...]  
 [ἐξό]χως τίμασ' Ἀπόλλων  
 [ἄλσο]ς, ἔν' ἀγλαΐαι [τ' ἀν-]  
 [θ]εῦσ[ι] καὶ μολπαὶ λίσσ[ονται]. (Bacch. fr. 4.54-7)

From that root (came) this precinct, and Apollo gave it exceptional honour, a place where festivities blossom and clear songs.<sup>12</sup>

As plausibly suggested by Barrett, the place of performance 'can only be ... the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus at Asine'<sup>13</sup> because the poem relates the story of how

<sup>12</sup> Transl. by D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric*, vol. iv, *Loeb Classical Library* (London 1992).

<sup>13</sup> Barrett (2007) 295.



Herakles resettled the Dryopes from Delphi to Asine in the Argolid and how Melampous later established the sanctuary of Apollo in that area. Even so, the point of reference of the deictic pronoun, perfectly clear on the inaugural performance, might still cause some trouble later, when the paean was circulating outside its original context, which seems to suggest that in this particular case distant audiences are not the first thing on Bacchylides' mind. The same applies to Pindar's *Nem.* 7 where the poet identifies the location of performance as *δάπεδον τόδε* (83), leaving the secondary audience guessing as to what Aeginetan sanctuary this could be.<sup>14</sup>

Turning back to *Pyth.* 5, it is possible that the absence of the deictic markers is purely accidental. After all the use of deixis is by no means a requirement in occasional genres of poetry. However, it is likewise possible that sometimes Pindar avoids them on purpose. By substituting deixis with more elaborate descriptions of the landmarks of Cyrene, Pindar seems to privilege the broader Panhellenic audience of the ode, contemplating the prospect of reperformance outside the original context already at the moment of composition. Thus, the details which must have been otiose on the inaugural performance—whatever its context and precise location in the city—could serve the purposes of rhetorical *ἐνάργεια* on subsequent performances outside Cyrene.

### ***Pythian 6: From Akragas to Delphi***

Prima facie it may seem that with *Pyth.* 6 we are on a much safer ground. Its opening is reminiscent of Pindar's paean for the Abderites. The performers are processing toward the navel of the earth, a spot that scholars almost unanimously identify as the

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<sup>14</sup> The puzzlement of the scholiast is instructive (*Σ Nem.* 7.120): τὸν δὲ τῶν θεῶν βασιλέα Δία κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔδαφος ὕμνεῖν προσήκει· ἥτοι τὸ τῆς Νεμέας· ἀνάκειται γὰρ ὁ Νεμεαῖος ἀγὼν τῷ Διὶ· ἢ κατὰ τὸ τῆς Αἰγίνης, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα. διατί δὲ πρέπει τὸν Δία ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ὕμνεῖν, αὐτὸς ἐποίησε.

temple of Apollo at Delphi. It has remained unnoticed, however, that what follows strongly suggests against this:

Πυθιόνικος ἔνθ' ὀλβίοισιν Ἐμμενίδαις  
ποταμία τ' Ἀκράγαντι καὶ μὰν Ξενοκράτει  
ἔτοῖμος ὕμνων θησαυρὸς ἐν πολυχρύσῳ  
Ἀπολλωνία τετείχισται νάπα·

τὸν οὔτε χειμέριος ὄμβρος, ἐπακτὸς ἐλθὼν  
ἔριβρόμου νεφέλας  
στρατὸς ἀμείλιχος, οὔτ' ἄνεμος ἐς μυχοῦς  
ἀλὸς ἄξεισι παμφόρῳ χεράδει  
τυπτόμενον.

(*Pyth.* 6.5-14)

where at hand for the fortunate Emmenidai  
and for Akragas on its river, yes, and for Xenokrates,  
a Pythian victor's  
treasure house of hymns  
has been built in Apollo's valley rich in gold,  
one which neither winter rain, coming from abroad  
as a relentless army  
from a loudly rumbling cloud, nor wind shall buffet  
and with their deluge of slit carry into depths  
of the sea.

The relative clause (ἐνθα) specifies the destination of the procession. The metaphoric treasure house built for Xenokrates, his clan, and the city of Akragas is located in the valley (νάπα), not on the slope of the Mount Parnassus together with other buildings surrounding the temple (see figure 7). This is by no means surprising, for we know that the valley at the foot of the mountain was the site of the hippodrome which is 'now buried under the biggest olive grove in Europe'.<sup>15</sup> It is there that the victorious chariot of Xenokrates laid down the foundations of the perennial treasure house of hymns bestowed upon him and his family by Pindar. If so, ὀμφαλὸς χθονός in lines 3-4 makes sense only as a reference to the whole site of Delphi rather than to the temple of Apollo alone.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Davies (2007) 52.

<sup>16</sup> The use of ὀμφαλός to designate Delphi as a whole is attested elsewhere in Pindar: cf. *Pa.* 6.15-17 (= fr. 52 f Snell-Maehler) τόθι Λατοῖδαν | θαμνὰ Δελφῶν κόραι | χθονὸς ὀμφαλὸν παρὰ σκιάεντα

Once we accept that, as I think we must, there are two points in the traditional interpretation of the passage which have to be reconsidered. First, the procession described in the opening cannot be moving along the Sacred Way to the temple of Apollo because both the Sacred Way and the temple are located inside the precinct on the slope of the mountain and not on the plain near the hippodrome. So where is the procession taking place, and in what direction is it moving? The most plausible answer, I think, is that there is no procession whatsoever, except of course in a purely figurative sense. The poet is taking his audience on a metaphorical journey from Akragas, the place of performance, to Delphi, the venue of the chariot victory of Xenocrates. Such imaginary processions are a familiar *topos* in Pindar, although normally they move in the opposite direction, i.e. from the venue of the games to the site of performance.<sup>17</sup>

Second, if the procession is imaginary, the supposed connection between the myth of Antilochus in *Pyth.* 6 and on the East frieze of the Siphnian Treasury may well be illusory. One could reasonably argue that the story of Antilochus is simply the best paradigm of filial devotion that Pindar could possibly find in the repertory of Greek myth. Moreover, this particular story is at least in some way related to chariot racing. However, the very fact that the poet likens his song to a treasury strongly suggests that he invites his audience to compare it with the real treasuries located inside the precinct on the slope of the mountain:

φάει δὲ πρόσωπον ἐν καθαρῷ  
πατρὶ τεῶν, Θρασύβουλε, κοινὰν τε γενεᾶ  
λόγοισι θνατῶν εὐδοξὸν ἄρματι νίκαν  
Κρισαίαις ἐνὶ πτυχαῖς ἀπαγγελεῖ. (Pyth. 6.14-17)

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μελπ[ό]μεναι | ποδὶ κροτέο[ντι γὰν θο]ῶ. Cf. also fr. \*54 (Snell-Maehler) = Strabo. 9.3.6 τῆς γὰρ Ἑλλάδος ἐν μέσῳ πῶς ἐστι τῆς συμπάσης, τῆς τε ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκτός, ἐνομίσθη δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ ἐκάλεσαν τῆς γῆς ὀμφαλόν.

<sup>17</sup> See discussion in Intro III.

But in clear light its front  
will proclaim a chariot victory,  
famous in men's speech,  
shared by your father, Thrasyboulos, and your clan,  
won in the dells of Krisa.

The song is described in architectural terms. Its proem, proclaiming the victory of Xenokrates, is the façade of the building and its pediment (πρόσωπον).<sup>18</sup> As the poet moves on to decorate his imaginary building with an episode of the Trojan saga, the audience familiar with the landmarks of the site would not fail to recognize that the decorations of the poetic treasury are at least in part modeled on the scenes depicted on the East frieze of the Siphnian Treasury. The evocation of Delphi, started with Pindar's references to the topography of the site and its climate, is now further enhanced by a subtle though surely recognizable allusion to the artistic representation of the myth of Antilochus on of the buildings at the site.

In this connection, one is reminded of the parodos of Euripides' *Ion*, where the chorus of Creusa's handmaidens describe with much excitement and vividness the various works of art in the vicinity of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The passage has been usually taken to refer to the decorations of the Alcmaeonid temple still in place at the time of Euripides. But neither the text of the choral ode nor the extant material evidence give sufficient reason to think that the scenes described by the chorus derive from the Alcmaeonid temple alone. It seems far more likely that Euripides' audience is offered a collage consisting of the decorations of the temple and other famous works of art available on display in Delphi.<sup>19</sup>

However it may be, the vividness and specificity of description in the parodos of the *Ion* serve essentially the same purpose as Pindar's oblique reference to the East frieze of the Siphnian treasury in *Pyth.* 6: to evoke Delphi in the minds of the

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<sup>18</sup> LSJ, s.v. I 2.

<sup>19</sup> For a brief survey of the question see Arnott (1996).

audience. To conclude, it is important to notice that, while the object of rhetorical *ἐνάργεια* in *Pyth.* 5 is to evoke Cyrene for the secondary audiences outside the ode's original context of performance, its purpose in *Pyth.* 6 is to evoke Delphi for the primary audience.

### ***The Herakleia Passage Reconsidered***

So what can we say about the context of performance of *Isth.* 4 and the function of Pindar's account of the Herakleia in view of the previous discussion? First, neither the context nor the precise location of performance are certain. The ode may have been performed during the Herakleia near the temple of Herakles outside the city walls. However, if this was the case, the poet did not bother to provide any clear indication in the text. The reference to the temple as being located *Ἀλεκτράων ὕπερθε* 'above/beyond the Elektran Gates' is completely uninformative about the location of the speaking subject, while *ἀνέχομεν* seems more naturally to refer to recurring annual activity rather than to the actual moment of performance. Indeed, the description of the festival seems to have a purely rhetorical function, providing a transition from the Herakles exemplum to the catalogue of Melissos' previous victories, all obtained at the local games which were a part of the Herakleia.

Second, regardless of whether the ode was originally performed in the context of the festival or not, the specificity of Pindar's reference to the location of the sanctuary, to the rituals performed there, and nocturnal festivities are first and foremost meant to evoke the atmosphere of the festival for his secondary, non-Theban audience. The allusion to the artistic representation of Herakles' fight with Antaios on the pediment of the Herakleion contributes to the same effect. Although we must acknowledge that for a non-Theban the connection between the sculpted pediment and

the myth of *Isth.* 4 would not be necessarily clear from the text, this does not diminish the mimetic effect of the passage because, regardless of whether the audience is aware of any connection or not, the passage in question mimes the visual experience of the Theban participants of the festival standing in front of the temple and viewing the mythological scenes depicted on its pediment. As I have already suggested above, the effect is very similar to that of the Antilochus myth in *Pyth.* 6 which mimes the visual experience of a person walking along the Sacred Way in Delphi.

More generally, one may argue that the elements of mimesis formerly attributed only to Hellenistic poetry have their origins in Archaic and Classical lyric. True, Pindar's *ἐνάργεια* does not match the detail of Callimachus' hymns, and yet its effect is quite similar. In a fragmentary *Pa.* 14 (52o.32-7), Pindar clearly articulates his awareness of the mimetic force of his poetry:

λίγε ια μὲν Μοῖσ' ἀφα.[  
 μων τελευταῖς ὀαρίζε[ι  
 λόγον τερπνῶν ἐπέων [  
 μνάσει δὲ καί τινα ναίο[ν-  
 θ' ἐκὰς ἡρωϊδος  
 θεαρίας.

the high-voiced Muse  
 in the rites speaks softly  
 the utterance of sweet verses ...  
 and she will make even the person dwelling  
 far away be mindful of the heroic  
 spectacle.

## NOTE ON THE TEXT

### (a) Sigla

*B* – *Vaticanus graecus* 1312, xii *ex*.

*D* – *Laurentianus* 32, 52, xiv *in*.

*codd.* – *consensus codicum BD*

### (b) Divergent Readings

The basis of the text printed here is the Teubner edition of Bruno Snell (revised by Herwig Maehler) except at the following places (the reasons for adopting different readings are given in the commentary):

*Ivanov*

*Snell-Maehler*

18 χειμερίων

χειμέριον

24 Ἀωσφόρος

Ἀοσφόρος

72b ἀποστάζων

ἐπιστάζων

ISTHMIAN 4

< ΜΕΛΙΣΣΩΙ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΙ  
ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΙΩΙ >

- A' Ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἑκατι μυρία παντᾶ κέλευθος,  
ὦ Μέλισσ', εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανασι Ἰσθμίοις,  
ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὕμνω διώκειν·  
αἶσι Κλεωνυμίδαί θάλλοντες αἰεὶ
- 5 σὺν θεῷ θνατὸν διέρχον-  
ται βίотου τέλος. ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοιός οὖρος  
πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπαῖσσων ἐλαύνει.
- τοὶ μὲν ὦν Θήβαιοι τιμᾶντες ἀρχᾶθεν λέγονται  
πρόξενοί τ' ἀμφικτιόνων κελαδεννάς τ' ὄρφανοί  
ὑβριος· ὅσσα δ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἄηται
- 10 μαρτύρια φθιμένων ζώων τε φωτῶν  
ἀπλέτου δόξας, ἐπέψαν-  
σαν κατὰ πᾶν τέλος· ἀνορέαις δ' ἐσχάταισιν  
οἴκοθεν στάλαισιν ἄπτονθ' Ἡρακλείαις·
- καὶ μηκέτι μακροτέραν σπεύδειν ἀρετάν·  
ἵπποτρόφοι τ' ἐγένοντο,
- 15 χαλκέω τ' Ἄρει ἄδον.  
ἀλλ' ἡμέρα γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ  
τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο τεσσάρων  
ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμωσεν μάκαιραν ἐστίαν·  
νῦν δ' αὖ μετὰ χειμερίων ποικίλα μηνῶν ζόφον  
χθὼν ὥτε φοινικέουσιν ἀνθησεν ῥόδοις
- )—
- B' δαιμόνων βουλαῖς. ὁ κινητὴρ δὲ γᾶς Ὀγχηστὸν οἰκέων
- 20 καὶ γέφυραν ποντιάδα πρὸ Κορίνθου τειχέων,  
τόνδε πορῶν γενεᾷ θαυμαστὸν ὕμνον  
ἐκ λεχέων ἀνάγει φάμαν παλαιάν  
εὐκλέων ἔργων· ἐν ὕπνῳ  
γὰρ πέσεν· ἀλλ' ἀνεγειρομένα χρώτα λάμπει,  
Ἀωσφόρος θαητὸς ὥς ἄστροις ἐν ἄλλοις·
- 
- 25 ἃ τε κὰν γουνοῖς Ἀθανᾶν ἄρμα καρύξαισα νικᾶν  
ἐν τ' Ἀδραστείοις ἀέθλοις Σικυνῶνος ὥπασεν  
τοιιάδε τῶν τότε ἑόντων φύλλ' αἰοιδᾶν.

5 βίотου Donaldson : βίου codd.

18 χειμερίων ποικίλα Hartung : χειμέριον ποικίλων codd.

24 ἄωσφόρος B: ἑωσφόρος D : ἀοσφόρος Bergk



οὐδὲ παναγυρίων ξυνᾶν ἀπείχον  
καμπύλον δίφρον, Πανελλά-  
νεσσι δ' ἐριζόμενοι δαπάνη χαίρον ἵππων.  
30 τῶν ἀπειράτων γὰρ ἄγνωτοι σιωπαί.

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ἔστιν δ' ἀφάνεια τύχης καὶ μαρναμένων,  
πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι·  
τῶν τε γὰρ καὶ τῶν διδοῖ  
καὶ κρέσσον' ἀνδρῶν χειρόνων  
35 ἔσφαλε τέχνα καταμάρψαισ'· ἴστε μὲν  
Αἴαντος ἀλκάν, φοίνιον τὰν ὀψία  
ἐν νυκτὶ ταμῶν περὶ ᾧ φασγάνῳ μομφὰν ἔχει  
παίδεσσιν Ἑλλάνων ὅσοι Τροίανδ' ἔβαν.

)—  
Γ'

ἀλλ' Ὀμηρὸς τοι τετίμακεν δι' ἀνθρώπων, ὃς αὐτοῦ  
πᾶσαν ὀρθώσας ἀρετὰν κατὰ ράβδον ἔφρασεν  
θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν.  
40 τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἔρπει,  
εἴ τις εὖ εἴπῃ τι· καὶ πάγ-  
καρπον ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ διὰ πόντον βέβακεν  
ἐργμάτων ἀκτὶς καλῶν ἄσβεστος αἰεῖ.

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προφρόνων Μοισᾶν τύχοιμεν,  
κεῖνον ἄψαι πυρσὸν ὕμνων  
καὶ Μελίσσω, παγκρατίου στεφάνωμ' ἐπάξιον,  
45 ἔρνεϊ Τελεσιάδα. τόλμα γὰρ εἰκὼς  
θυμὸν ἐριβρεμετᾶν θηρῶν λεόντων  
ἐν πόνῳ, μῆτιν δ' ἀλώπηξ,  
αἰετοῦ ἅ τ' ἀναπιτναμένα ρόμβον ἴσχει·  
χρῆ δὲ πᾶν ἔρδοντ' ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν.

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οὐ γὰρ φύσιν Ὀαριωνεῖαν ἔλαχεν·  
50 ἀλλ' ὄνοτὸς μὲν ἰδέσθαι,  
συμπεσεῖν δ' ἀκμᾷ βαρύς.  
καὶ τοί ποτ' Ἀνταίου δόμους  
Θηβᾶν ἀπο Καδμεΐαν μορφὰν βραχύς,  
ψυχὰν δ' ἄκαμπτos, προσπαλαίσων ἦλθ' ἀνὴρ  
τὰν πυροφόρον Λιβύαν, κρανίοις ὄφρα ξένων  
ναὸν Ποσειδάωνος ἐρέφοντα σχέθαι,

)—  
Δ'

υἱὸς Ἀλκμήνας· ὃς Οὐλυμπόνδ' ἔβα, γαίης τε πάσας  
καὶ βαθύκρημνον πολιᾶς ἁλὸς ἐξευρὼν θέναρ,  
ναυτιλίαςί τε πορθμὸν ἡμερώσας.  
νῦν δὲ παρ' Αἰγιοχῶ κάλλιστον ὄλβον  
ἀμφέπων ναίει, τετίμα-  
ταί τε πρὸς ἀθανάτων φίλος, Ἦβαν τ' ὀπυῖει,  
60 χρυσέων οἴκων ἄναξ καὶ γαμβρὸς Ἦρας.

---

- τῷ μὲν Ἀλεκτρῶν ὕπερθεν δαίτα πορσύνοντες ἄστοί  
καὶ νεόδματα στεφανώματα βωμῶν αὔξομεν,  
ἔμπτυρα χαλκοαρᾶν ὀκτὼ θανόντων,  
τοὺς Μεγάρᾳ τέκε οἱ Κρεοντὶς υἱούς·  
65 τοῖσιν ἐν δυθμαῖσιν αὐγᾶν  
φλόξ ἀνατελλομένα συνεχὲς παννυχίζει,  
αἰθέρα κνισάεντι λακτίζουσα καπνῷ,  
—  
καὶ δεύτερον ἄμαρ, ἐτείων τέρμ' ἀέθλων,  
γίνεται ἰσχύος ἔργον.  
ἐνθα λευκωθείς κάρᾳ  
70 μύρτοισι ὄδ' ἀνὴρ διπλόαν  
νίκαν ἀνεφάνατο παίδων <τε> τρίταν  
πρόσθεν, κυβερνατῆρος οἰακοστροφου  
γνώμα πεπιθὼν πολυβούλῳ· σὺν Ὀρσέᾳ δέ νιν  
κωμάξομαι τερπνὰν ἀποστάζων χάριν.

59 ὀπνίει *Ceporinus* : ὀπνύει *B* : ὀπήει *D*

62 *post αὔξομεν leuiter interpunxi.*

67 *interpunxit Privitera*

71 *suppleuit Hermann.*

72b ἀποστάζων *B* : ἐπιστάζων *Tricl. e Σ* : ἐπιστοχάζων *D*

ISTHMIAN 3

<ΜΕΛΙΣΣΩΙ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΙ  
ΙΠΠΟΙΣ>

- Εἴ τις ἀνδρῶν εὐτυχήσῃς ἢ σὺν εὐδόξοις ἀέθλοισι  
σθένει πλούτου κατέχει φρασὶν αἰανὴ κόρον,  
ἄξιος εὐλογίαις ἀστῶν μεμίχθαι.  
Ζεῦ, μεγάλα δ' ἀρεταὶ θνατοῖς ἔπονται*  
5 *ἐκ σέθεν· ζῶει δὲ μάσσων  
ὄλβος ὀπιζομένων, πλαγίαις δὲ φρένεσσιν  
οὐχ ὁμῶς πάντα χρόνον θάλλων ὀμιλεῖ.*
- 
- εὐκλέων δ' ἔργων ἄποινα χρή μὲν ὑμνῆσαι τὸν ἑσλόν,  
χρὴ δὲ κωμάζοντ' ἀγαναῖς χαρίτεσσιν βαστάσαι.  
ἔστι δὲ καὶ διδύμων ἀέθλων Μελίσσῳ*  
10 *μοῖρα πρὸς εὐφροσύναν τρέψαι γλυκεῖαν  
ἦτορ, ἐν βάσσαισιν Ἴσθμου  
δεξαμένῳ στεφάνους, τὰ δὲ κοίλα λέοντος  
ἐν βαθυστέρνου νάπα κάρυξε Θήβαν*
- 
- ἵπποδρομίᾳ κρατέων· ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀρετὰν  
σύμφυτον οὐ κατελέγχει.*  
15 *ἴστε μὰν Κλεωνύμου  
δόξαν παλαιὰν ἄρμασιν·  
καὶ ματρώθε Λαβδακίδαισιν σύννομοι*  
17b *πλούτου διέστειχον τετραοριᾶν πόνοις.  
αἰὼν δὲ κυλινδομέναις ἀμέραις ἄλλ' ἄλλοτ' ἐξ*  
18b *ἄλλαξεν. ἄτρωτοί γε μὰν παῖδες θεῶν.*

12 βαθυστέρνου *codd.* : βαθυστέρνω *Bergk ex Σ*

18 γε μὰν *codd.* : γε οὐ *Hartung*

ISTHMIAN 4

*<For Melissos of Thebes, victor in the pankration.>*

A' Thanks to the gods I have countless roads in every direction,  
Melissos, since you revealed your resourcefulness in the Isthmian games,  
to pursue with my song your achievements,  
with which the Kleonymidai always flourish  
with god's help, as they pass  
through and reach the mortal end of life. Different winds  
at different times rush upon all men and drive them on.

From the beginning they are said to have been honored in Thebes  
as hosts of the neighboring people and as men devoid of loud  
arrogance; and as many are the testimonies of boundless glory  
of heroes both living and dead  
as are carried on the winds to men,  
they attained them in every issue; with their supreme achievements  
they clasp the pillars of Herakles from their home.

(But do not strive for a more distant achievement!)  
They were breeders of horses  
and were favored by Ares armed in bronze.  
Yet in a single day  
severe snow-storm of war  
deprived the blessed house of four men.  
But now, like the colored earth after the darkness  
of wintry months, it blooms with red roses

B' by the counsels of the gods. The Earthshaker, who dwells at Onchestos  
and at the sea bridge in front of the walls of Corinth,  
by giving this wondrous song to the family  
raises from the deathbed their old Reputation  
for glorious deeds; for she  
fell asleep. But now awake, her body shines  
like the Morning Star conspicuous among other stars.

She once proclaimed their chariot victorious on the hills  
of Athens and in the contests of Adrastos at Sikyon, bestowing  
upon them such leaves of songs from the poets of the past as these ones.  
Nor did they keep away their curved chariot  
from the festivals common to all, but competing with all Greeks  
they took pleasure in lavishly spending on horses,  
because those who do not enter the contests are confined to oblivion.

But even when men compete, fortune remains hidden  
until they reach the finish line,  
because fortune gives abundance of things,  
and even a stronger man can be  
overtaken and tripped by the skill of the worse ones. Sure you know  
the fierce courage of Aias, who stained it with blood by piercing it with his  
own sword, and who blames the Greeks who went to Troy.

*I'* But Homer to be sure has honored him among men, and,  
having set his achievement straight in every respect, he proclaimed  
it by the authority of his divine words for future generations to play with.  
For that thing spreads as a divine utterance,  
if someone says it well, and  
    over the all-fruit-bearing earth and through the sea has gone  
the brightness of noble deeds inextinguishable forever.

May I obtain the favor of the Muses to light that torch of songs  
for Melissos as well, a worthy crown,  
for the offspring of Telesiades. For in courage,  
he is like the heart of wild, loud-roaring lions,  
when it comes to toil, while in skill he is a fox  
    which spreads out on its back and holds back the eagle's swoop.  
One must do anything to weaken one's enemy.

The stature of Orion is not his lot;  
he is contemptible to look at  
and yet is heavy to engage with in combat.  
Just so once upon a time a man went to the dwelling of Anataios  
in wheat-bearing Lybia from Kademeian Thebes,  
short in stature, but unbending in spirit,  
to wrestle and prevent him from tiling  
the roof of the temple of Poseidon with the skulls of the guests.

*Δ'* This man was the son of Alkmene. He went to Olympos after he had  
explored all the lands and the hollow of the sea surrounded by steep shores  
and after he had cleared the passage for navigation.  
But now he dwells by the side of the Aegis-bearer, enjoying the most  
beautiful happiness: he is honored  
    by the gods as a friend; he is married to Hebe;  
he is the lord of the golden palace and son-in-law of Hera.

In his honor above the Elektran Gates we citizens prepare plentiful feasts  
and numerous crowns on the altars,  
burnt offerings for the eight bronze armed warriors who are dead,  
whom Megara, daughter of Kreon, bore to him.

For them at the setting of the sun  
the flame rises up and revels all night long,  
kicking the sky with the savor of burnt sacrifices.

And on the second day, at the conclusion of the annual games,  
there is the deed of strength.  
There this man crowned his head  
with myrtle declaring two  
victories in the category of men and among boys the third  
earlier, relying on the wise judgment  
of his helmsman guiding the tiller. Him together with Orseas  
I will celebrate, distilling my pleasant song.

ISTHMIAN 3

*<For Melissos of Thebes, victor in the horse race.>*

If a man attains success and amidst glorious prizes  
or powerful wealth restrains his nagging greed,  
he deserves to be crowned by the praise of his fellow-citizens.  
O Zeus, great achievements attend upon mortals  
from you; happiness of those who are  
    reverent to the gods lasts longer, but, as for the crooked minds,  
it does not consort with them and flourish forever.

One should hymn a good man in return for his glorious deeds;  
and, proceeding in the revel, one should greet him with gentle songs.  
Two are the victories that Melissos has,  
so that he turns his heart to sweet revelry,  
since in the glens of the Isthmos  
    he received the crowns; moreover, in the hollow vale  
of the deep-chested lion he caused Thebe to be proclaimed

by his victory in the horse race. He does not put to shame  
the inherited excellence of his clan.  
You certainly know about the ancient glory  
of Kleonymos with his chariots;  
being partners of the Labdakidai in wealth on his mother's side,  
they walked their way with the toils of the four-horsed chariots.  
Human life with its rolling days changes different things  
at different times. The children of the gods remain unscathed.

#### ISTHMIAN 4: COMMENTARY

**Title.** *P.Oxy.* 2451 leaves virtually no doubt that *Isth.* 3 and *Isth.* 4 were considered separate poems by Alexandrian scholars. The papyrus contains a fragment of the commentary on Pindar's *Isthmians* datable to the second century AD. The fragment reads as follows:

1 ]ωιαντ[  
2 ] [  
3 ]εωνεκατιμυρια[  
4 ]ωνβουλομενω[  
5 ].λ ι σ σ [...]λλοτεδ αλλοιοσουροσπ[

The third line is easily recognizable as the first line of the poem; the fourth must be a gloss on *θεῶν ἕκατι*. The first can be reconstructed as the heading of the poem: *τωι αυτωι* ('for the same one', i.e. for the same victor as the previous ode). For a full discussion of the papyrus, see Privitera (1982) 255-6.

**Proem.** The opening is unusual. The ode does not begin with a focusing device that delays and prepares the announcement of the occasion, as in most other epinician odes (see discussion of the proem of *Isth.* 3). Instead, the basic facts of the victory are presented up front. Already in 2 we learn the name of the victor and the venue of the games. A long section devoted to Melissos' family and the vicissitudes of their civic, military, and athletic careers follows (4-33). The myth of Aias (34-9) and reflections on the immortalizing power of song (40-2) bring us back to the victor and his achievement. In 44 the remaining elements of the epinician program (event and patronymic) are supplied before the narrative moves on into the second mythic exemplum, Herakles' fight with Antaios. The structure finds no adequate parallel elsewhere in the epinician corpus: cf. Hamilton (1974) 75.



One might venture a guess that the unique structure of the ode has something to do with the unique circumstances of the laudandus and his family. While the Kleonymidai heavily invested in chariot racing (*Isth.* 3.15-16, 4.29), Melissos was a successful pankratist, a fact that clearly distinguished him from the rest of his family. It is possible that Pindar would want to downplay this difference for purely rhetorical reasons. Since he is at pains to emphasize the continuity of the family's athletic traditions and to show that Melissos' present victory is a natural outcome of their combined effort throughout generations, an explicit reference to the pankration in the opening would have had a slightly disconcerting effect.<sup>1</sup> Instead, it is effectively reserved until later (44), to introduce an apt comparison between the victor and Herakles, the Theban pankratist par excellence.

**1-3.** The passage raises two fundamental problems. The first has to do with the motivation of the statement in the first line. The second with the syntax of the entire passage. The two are to some degree interrelated.

(i) The scholion suggests that the abundance of poetic resource available to the poet (*μυρία παντῆ κέλευθος*) is due both to the gods (*θεῶν ἔκατι*, i.e. Apollo and the Muses) and to the victor himself (*εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανας Ἰσθμίοις*).<sup>2</sup> This implies that *θεῶν ἔκατι* and the *γάρ* clause to some extent overlap: 'there are, *thanks to the gods*, countless roads in every direction, Melissos, *because* at the Isthmos you revealed *εὐμαχανία* etc.' If so, the statement is overdetermined, for the poet's inspiration is attributed to two different sources. The problem can be addressed in the following ways.

<sup>1</sup> The assumption that Melissos' 'string of successes in the murderous pancration was something of an embarrassment to his horsy relatives' (Cole (2003) 251) has more to do with modern intellectual attitude toward combat sports than with ancient reality.

<sup>2</sup> Σ *Isth.* 4.1a-c *θεῶν, τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἡ τῶν θεῶν προνοία ἐστὶ μοι μυρία ὁδὸς εἰς τοὺς ὕμνους· πολλὰς φησὶν ἔχειν εὐμηχανίας καὶ ἀφορμὰς εἰς τοὺς τοῦ Μελίσσου ἐπαίνους διὰ τὸ νικῆσαι τὰ Ἰσθμια. ὁ δὲ νοῦς οὕτως· τῶν Μουσῶν ἐπιτρεπουσῶν ἐστὶ μοι πανταχοῦ οὐ προσάντης ἀλλ' εὐμαρῆς ἢ τῶν ὕμνων ὁδὸς, ὃ νικηφόρε· τὰ γὰρ Ἰσθμια νικήσας εὐμηχανίας πεποίηκας τῷ ὕμνῳ ἀνυμνεῖν τὰς προγονικὰς ὕμνων ἀρετάς.*

(a) We are not compelled to follow the scholiast in taking *θεῶν* as a reference to Apollo and the Muses, for it is just as possible that the word refers to the presiding deity of the Isthmian games, Poseidon; the use of the plural in reference to a specific god individual, see *Ol.* 7.10, *Isth.* 5.43, *Isth.* 8.38. Since the Greeks believed that the patron gods of the games were directly involved in one's victory (see Braswell, *Pyth.* 4.3 n. (c)), *θεῶν ἔκατι* and the *γάρ* clause come down to more or less the same thing: 'gods helped Melissos to win, and I have the abundance of poetic resource thanks to Melissos and to these gods'.

(b) It is likewise possible that *θεῶν ἔκατι* is merely a stereotypical formula forestalling the poet's presumptuous assessment of his own poetic ability, in which case it is not entirely inconsistent with the 'actual' motivation of *μυρία παντῶ κέλευθος*, i.e. Melissos' victory at the Isthmos: cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 166-9 τὰν δ' εὖλοχον οὐρανίαν | τόξων μεδέουσιν αὐτεὺν | Ἄρτεμιν, καὶ μοι πολυζήλωτος αἰεὶ | σὺν θεοῖσι φοιτῶ, where σὺν θεοῖσι, taken at face value, would not square with the fact that only one goddess, Artemis, makes pregnancy easy. Barrett is right (*Hipp.* 168-9 n.) that to make sense of the passage, we must assume that σὺν θεοῖσι had become 'so stereotyped a 'touch wood' that no incongruity is felt'.

(c) Both options, however, try to remove something that perhaps does not need to be removed. We know that the Greek religious outlook could easily accommodate parallel—and only to us conflicting—series of explanations. Sometimes divine and human factors can both be at work: cf. Lesky (1961); Fraenkel, *Ag.* 811 n. A good example in Pindar is *Pyth.* 5.57-62 κείνον [i.e. Battos] γε καὶ βαρύκομποι | λέοντες περὶ δείματι φύγον, | γλώσσαν ἐπεί σφιν ἀπένεικεν ὑπερποντίαν | ὁ δ' ἀρχαγέτας ἔδωκε Ἀπόλλων | θήρας αἰνῶ φόβῳ, | ὄφρα μὴ ταμίᾳ Κυράνας ἀτελὴς γένοιτο μαντεύμασιν. On the face of it the lions are scared of Battos' strange way of speaking, but in fact it is Apollo who instills fear in them. In our case, the identity of the god(s) does not have

to be any more precise than in a much debated and similarly contradictory statement of the poet Phemius in *Od.* 22.347-8 αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οὔμας | παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν.

(d) Alternatively, one might consider the possibility that the function of the γάρ clause is not to account for the source of poetic inspiration but merely to explain the speech act, i.e. the vocative of the victor's name in 2: 'there are, thanks to the gods, countless roads in every direction, Melissos - [I address you] because at the Isthmos you displayed εὐμαχανία etc.' For this kind of parenthesis, cf. Pelliccia (1987) 44-6.

(ii) As to the syntax and meaning of the sentence, at least three interpretations must be taken into account. Our preference will be to some degree motivated by the choice that we have made above.

(a) The scholiast construes διώκειν as an epexegetic infinitive dependent on εὐμαχανία. The noun is attested elsewhere in Pindar at fr. 52h.17 (Snell-Maehler) ἐπέυχομαι δ' Οὐρανοῦ τ' ἐνπέπλωι θυγατρὶ Μναμοσύναι κόραισί τ' εὐμαχανίαν δ' ἰδόμεν, where it means '[poetic] capability, resource' (Slater s.v.). If the same meaning is assumed in our passage, we must translate: 'there are, thanks to the gods, countless roads [of song] in every direction, Melissos, because at the Isthmos you revealed [to me] abundant [poetic] resource to pursue in song the achievements of your family' (thus e.g. Σ, Dissen, Mommsen, Donaldson, Fennell, Bury, Farnell, and Slater s.v. εὐμαχανία).

(b) However, comparing Bacch. 5.31-5 τῶς νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ μυρία πάντα κέλευθος | ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν | ὑμνεῖν, κυανοπλοκάμου θ' ἑκατι Νίκας | χαλκεοστέρνου τ' Ἄρης, | Δεινομένευσ ἀγέρωχοι | παῖδες, it seems more likely that ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἑκατι μυρία παντῶ κέλευθος should be taken with ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὕμνῳ διώκειν, the γάρ clause being parenthetical: 'there are, thanks to the gods, countless roads in every direction,

Melissos—since at the Isthmos you have revealed [*to me*] abundant [*poetic*] resource—to pursue in song the achievements of your family’ (thus e.g. Heyne, Schroeder, Turyn, Snell-Maehler, Thummer, Privitera, and Race).

(c) If the syntax suggested in (b) is correct, there is yet a third possibility, which seems very compelling in the context. The adjective *εὐμήχανος* can describe a person who is inventive and skillful in a certain area or activity normally expressed by a genitive or a prepositional phrase (see LSJ s.v. I). The fact that the only attested instance of *εὐμαχανία* in Pindar refers to the skill of the poet (subjective use) does not mean that we must assume the same meaning here. The locative dative *Ἰσθμίους* which seems to make *εὐμαχανία* a more natural allusion to the skill and inventiveness shown by the victor as a pankratiast: ‘there are, thanks to the gods, countless roads in every direction, Melissos—since you displayed [*to everyone*] your outstanding skill in the Isthmian games—to pursue in song your family’s achievements’; *φαίνω* and its synonyms and compounds are often used in athletic contexts in connection with the qualities exhibited by the athletes in the contests: e.g., *Il.* 20.411 *ποδῶν ἀρετὴν ἀναφαίνων*, 2.238 *ἀλλ’ ἐθέλεις ἀρετὴν σὴν φαινέμεν, ἣ τοι ὀπηδεῖ*, *Od.* 8.237 *ἀρετὴν σὴν φαινέμεν*, *Bacch.* 9.30-1 *τοῖος Ἑλλάνων δι’ ἀπείρονα κύκλον | φαῖνε θαυμαστὸν δέμας | δίσκον τροχοειδέα ρίπτων*, *Bacch.* 13.76 *ὑπέρβιον ἰσχὺν | παμμαχίαν ἄνα φαίνων*. Cf. also the similar use of *ἐπιδείκνυμι* at *Pyth.* 4.253 *ἐπεδείξαντο ἱν’ ἐσθᾶτος ἀμφίς*, *Nem.* 11.14 *ἔν τ’ ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων ἐπέδειξεν βίαν*. As we learn later on (45-9), Melissos’ athletic *εὐμαχανία* was a crucial factor in his victory. Notice also the use of aor. (*ἔφανα*), where one might expect perf. or pres. if the *εὐμαχανία* in question were indeed a ‘poetic resource’ realized in the present song.

**1. ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἕκατι μυρία παντὶ κέλευθος** : cf. *Bacch.* 5.31-3 *τῶς νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ μυρία πάντα κέλευθος | ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν | ὑμνεῖν*, 9.47-9 *στείχει δι’ εὐρείας κελεύ- | θου μυρία πάντα φάτις*, 19.1-2 *πάρεστι μυρία κέλευ- | θος ἀμβροσίων μελέων*. Of the

three passages only Bacch. 5 can be dated with any certainty. Like Pindar's *Ol.* 1, the poem celebrates Hieron's Olympic victory of 476 BC but does not mention his victory of 472 BC. It follows that both poems are to be dated within this four-year interval. If we adopt the majority opinion and assume that *Isth.* 4 was composed shortly after the battle of Plataia (see 16-17b n. below) and that Bacchylides, the supposedly inferior poet, borrowed from Pindar and not the other way around, we can date *Isth.* 4 between 479 and 476 BC. But, since both the identity of the battle and the assumption of Bacchylides' poetic inferiority are far from established, two other possibilities must be reckoned with: (a) Pindar borrowed from Bacchylides, as suggested by Pohlsander (1963); (b) the phrase was a commonplace 'in the public domain'.

**παντῆ** = (Att.) *πάντη*. On Doric accentuation, see Schwyzer i, 384.

**κέλευθος** : for the 'path of song' *topos*, see Becker (1937); Lefkowitz (1963) 243 n. 44 = (1991) 27 n. 44

**2. ὦ Μέλισσ'** : in no other ode does Pindar address the victor by name so early in the opening. But an early reference in the third person is not unusual (e.g., *Ol.* 9.4, 10.2, *Pyth.* 4.2, 9.3, *Isth.* 8.1). Cf. *Isth.* 2.1, where the poet addresses the victor's son, and fr. 124 a.b. *ὦ Θρασύβουλ'*.

**3. ὑμετέρας** : second person plural following second person singulars (*ὦ Μέλισσ'*, *ἔφρανας*) prepares the shift of focus from the victory of Melissos to the achievements of the Kleonymidai.

**ῥῳδιώκειν** = *ῥωδιεῖν* (subjective); cf. *Ol.* 6.6-7 *τίνα κεν φύγοι ῥῳδιον | κείνος ἀνὴρ* (objective). The metaphor suggests the chariot contest between the victor's achievement and the poet's praise.

**4. αἶσι θάλλοντες** : cf. *Ol.* 9.16 *θάλλει δ' ἀρεταῖσιν*, *Nem.* 10.41-2 *νικαφορίαις ... θάλλουσιν*. For the metaphorical use of *θάλλω*, cf. Salvador Castillo (1996) 50-2.

**5. σὺν θεῷ θνατόν :** σὺν θεῷ can be taken with both θάλλοντες αἰεὶ and θνατόν διέρχονται βίτου τέλος. The tendency to contrast opposing ideas even at the cost of natural word order is characteristic of Greek poetry and in particular prose. Mortality and immortality is one of the most frequently encountered pairs; cf. *Il.* 20.41 θεοὶ θνητῶν, *Od.* 4.397 θεὸς βροτῶι ἀνδρί, Hes. *Th.* 942 ἀθάνατον θνητή, *Op.* 155, [Hes.] μέλας, λαμπρόν, fr. 30.33 θεὸς βροτῷ, *h. Cer.* 111 θεοὶ θνητοῖσι, *h. Aph.* 167 θεῷ βροτός, *Ol.* 1.64 θεὸν ἀνὴρ, *Ol.* 10.21 ἀνὴρ θεοῦ, *Pyth.* 4.21 θεῷ ἀνέρι, *Pyth.* 12.4 ἀθανάτων ἀνδρῶν, fr. 224 θεὸν ἄνδρα, 225. 1 θεὸς ἀνδρί, Eur. *Or.* 8 θεοὶς ἄνθρωπος. See further Fehling (1969) 280-5; Richardson *h. Cer.* 111 n.

**θνατόν διέρχονται βίτου τέλος :** gen. βίτου can be understood as dependant on διέρχονται, with τέλος as terminal acc., i.e. ‘they pass through life to the mortal end’ (Bury), in which case the construction would be similar to *Il.* 6.393-4 εὖτε πύλας ἴκανε διερχόμενος μέγα ἄστρ | Σκαιάς (double acc.). However, it seems unlikely that in such a conventional expression as βίτου τέλος (cf. Eur. *Rh.* 735, Plat. *Gorg.* 11a 232 and see n. below) the gen. would be perceived as anything but the attributive, hence: ‘they pass through and reach the mortal end *of* their life’. Dissen aptly compares Aesch. *PV* 285 ἦκω, δολιχῆς τέρμα κελεύθου διαμειψάμενος.

**διέρχονται :** the image of the path is still present. For a similar effect, cf. *Pyth.* 5.14 σὲ δ’ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δίκῃ, which echoes the opening lines (i.e. *Pyth.* 5.1-4 ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής, | ὅταν τις ἀρετῇ κεκραμένον καθαρῇ | βροτήσιος ἀνὴρ πότμου παραδόντος αὐτὸν ἀνάγῃ | πολύφιλον ἐπέταν). In *Pyth.* 4.6, at first a purely ornamental epithet καρποφόρου (i.e. Λιβύας) is elaborated in lines 14-15 γὰς Ἐπάφοιο κόραν (i.e. Libya) | ἀστέων ρίζαν φυτεύσεσθαι μελησιμβρότων).

**θνατόν ... βίτου τέλος** is a hybrid of two epic phrases, i.e. Hom. *Il.* 7.04, 16.787 βιότοιο τελευτή (cf. Pind. fr. 137.1 βιοῦ τελευτάν) and [Hes.] *Sc.* 357 θανάτοιο τελευτήν, Hom. *Il.* 3.309 τέλος θανάτοιο.

**τέλος** : ‘end’ (Slater, s.v. b, *pace* LSJ s.v. II. b ‘length of time, term, course’). For the meaning of the word in Pindar and Bacchylides, see Barrett (2007) 75-6. Although ‘the end of life’ is a familiar expression, for Pindar’s audience τέλος would also suggest an agonistic image: ‘they crossed through and reached the finishing-post of their life’; cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 87 τέλος δὲ κάμψαιμι ὥσπερ ἡρχάμην βίου, where κάμψαιμι activates the metaphor. Cf. also *Nem.* 6.6-7 καίπερ ἐφαμερίαν οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ μετὰ νύκτας ἄμμε πότμος | ἄντιν’ ἔγραψε δραμεῖν ποτὶ στάθμαν.

**5-6. ἄλλοτε δ’ ἄλλοις οὖρος | πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπαΐσων ἐλαύνει** : the image of journey by land in lines 1-5 now gives way to the image of sea voyage. For a similar switch, cf. *Pyth.* 11.38-40, *Nem.* 6.53-7. In gnomic contexts, wind imagery often conveys the idea of the unstable nature of human success: cf. *Ol.* 7.94-5 ἐν δὲ μὲν μοίρα χρόνον | ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλοιαι διαιθύσσοισιν αὔραι, *Pyth.* 3.105 ἄλλοτε δ’ ἄλλοιαι πνοαί | ὑβριπετᾶν ἀνέμων. The gnome introduces the pattern of alternating happiness and misfortune which runs through the ode until the gnomic transition back to the immediate occasion in 40-2. For variations of this pattern elsewhere in Pindar, cf. Morrison (2007) 48 n. 44. The closest parallel is probably *Ol.* 2.18-47 (see discussion in Nisetich (1989) ch. 5), where the vicissitude gnomai (18-22 and in 33-4) are followed by concrete illustrations from mythology and the history of the victor’s family.

**ἄλλοις** : there is no need to suppose (with Heyne) that the adjective suggests the adversity of the wind by euphemism (LSJ s.v. I. 1). Rather, as normally with paired ἄλλο-words (see *Isth.* 3.18a n.), the meaning is distributive: ‘now of one kind, now of a another’. But adversity of the wind is indeed suggested in 7.

**οὖρος** : ‘breeze’. The word is normally used in the sense ‘favorable wind’ (LSJ s.v.). But, as pointed out by Braswell *Pyth.* 4.292 n. (c), both here and in *Pyth.* 4 the

meaning is neutral and is hardly different from *αὔρα* and *ἄνεμος* in the passages cited in 5-6 n. above.

**6. ἐπαΐσσω ἐλαύνει :** although the meaning of the gnome is not explicitly negative, it definitely communicates uneasiness. The sentence started in a neutral tone (‘now this, now that’), but the participle sounds a note of threat. In Homer, the verb ἐπαΐσσω is charged with overtones of hostility and is used chiefly in military contexts (*Lfgre* s.v. ἀΐσσω H). It is used of the wind only at *Il.* 2.146, in a memorable simile comparing a crowd of people to the sea surging during a storm; but even there the military sense is not altogether suppressed. For military engagements described in terms of meteorological phenomena and vice versa, see 17a n. For a more straightforward description of the winds in military terms, cf. *Pyth.* 4.210 ἀνέμων στίχες, ‘battle-lines of the winds’. Commentators often observe that the gnome compares human beings to ships propelled by the wind in various directions (e.g., Willcock *ad loc.*). This may be correct (cf. *Od.* 13.155), but ἐλαύνει too seems ambivalent. Although the nautical sense of the verb is partly constituent of the maritime imagery of the gnome, used alongside the ambiguous ἐπαΐσσω, the military sense lurks close to the surface (‘strike’, LSJ s.v. II 2). The gnomic passage as a whole, then, foreshadows the main concern of the epode (15-18), namely, the battle in which the family lost four members; cf. 8 n. on ὀρφανοί. On Pindar’s penchant for anticipation, cf. Silk (1974) 155-57. For similar anticipatory echoes in Homer, see Edwards *Il.* 17.243-4 n.

**7-9. τιμάεντες, πρόξενoi, and ὀρφανοί** are often taken with λέγονται (cf. e.g., Carey *Nem.* 7.66-7 n., Most (1985) 325), i.e. ‘from the beginning they are said to have been (a) honored in Thebes and (b) hosts of neighboring people and (c) free of loud-voiced arrogance’. This gives a tripartite catalogue of the Kleonymid virtues, in which τε ... τε are not paired (‘both ... and’) but link each element to the preceding one, as in



59-60. The honor bestowed upon the Kleonymidai by the Thebans is thus contrasted with the hospitality the clan itself showed toward the people of neighboring cities. But the reason for the switch from the passive to the active is unclear: why ‘they are honored in Thebes and are hosts of the neighboring people’ and not simply ‘they are honored in Thebes and in neighboring cities’? Moreover, the interpretation of the passage as a tripartite catalogue highlighting the contrast between Thebes and the rest of Boiotia leaves *κελαδεννᾶς τ’ ὀρφανοί | ὕβριος* as a mere afterthought. It is preferable to construe *τιμάεντες* with *λέγονται*, taking *πρόξενοι* and *ὀρφανοί* as predicates, a regular construction with *τιμάω* (e.g., *Isth.* 4.59 *τετίμαται* [i.e. Herakles] *τε πρὸς ἀθανάτων φίλος*, ‘has been honored by the gods as a friend’). In that case, *τε ... τε* pairs *πρόξενοι* and *ὀρφανοί*: ‘from the beginning they are said to have been honored in Thebes (a) as hosts of neighboring peoples and (b) as free of loud-voiced arrogance’. The implicit contrast is not so much ‘in Thebes’ vs ‘outside of Thebes’, but ‘hospitality’ vs ‘lack of hybris’. The second element of the doublet empathically reasserts the first one by negating its opposite; failure to observe the laws of hospitality is one of the most despicable manifestations of *ὑβρις*.

But why the emphasis on the family’s hospitality toward other Boiotians? A remarkably similar passage is found in fr. 94b honoring Melissos’ fellow Theban, Aioladas: 39-45 *μάρτυς ἦλυθον ἐς χορόν | ἐσλοῖς τε γονεῦσιν | ἀμφὶ προξενίαισι· τί- | μαθεν γὰρ τὰ πάλαι τὰ νῦν | τ’ ἀμφικτιόνεσσιν | ἵππων τ’ ὠκυπόδων πο[λυ- | γνώτοις ἐπὶ νίκαις*. Kurke (2007) 89-95 plausibly sees in both poems a conscious effort on the part of noble Theban families to present themselves as Boiotian ‘community-builders’ in an attempt to bolster the regional hegemony of Thebes and thus strengthen their own status within the city. Pursuing a similar line of thought, Kowalzig (2007) 386 further suggests that ‘[t]o be appreciated by the Boiotian ‘neighbours’ is not only

something to aspire to, but is intrinsically linked to honour within the city of Thebes itself’.

**7. μὲν ὧν :** ‘now’, transitional (Denniston 471). μὲν is solitary; it is not answered by νῦν δ’ in 36 (*pace* Bury, Thummer) because there is no contrast between what was the case ἀρχαῖθεν and what is the case ‘now’. Nor is it answered by ἀλλά in 16 (*pace* Fennell), which marks the contrast with the immediately preceeding lines (see *Isth.* 4.16 n.).

**τιμᾶεντες ἀρχαῖθεν :** ‘honored from the beginning’, i.e. starting from the founder of the clan, Kleonymos: cf. *Pyth.* 8.24-5 τελέαν δ’ ἔχει (i.e. Aegina) | δόξαν ἀπ’ ἀρχαῖς (i.e. from Aegina’s founding figure Aiakos).

**8. πρόξενοί τ’ ἀμφικτιόνων :** ‘hosts of the neighboring peoples’. ἀμφικτίονες refers to residents of the cities close to Thebes, including Boiotian (‘*Boeoti circumiacentium urbium*’ Dissen) and non-Boiotian communities. Wilamowitz (1922) 337 saw a more specific allusion to Delphi, taking ἀμφικτιόνων to refer to the Delphic Amphictyony and its officials, Ἀμφικτίονες or Ἀμφικτύονες. In that case, πρόξενοί must refer to the institution of προξενία, an honorary appointment of a citizen from city X by city Y to protect the interests of citizens of city Y in city X. In its technical sense, the word first occurs in Herodotus (8.136.1, 143.1, 9.85.3). But this interpretation is beset with a number of problems. (a) As argued by Most (1985) 323-6,<sup>3</sup> fifth century poetry offers no example of προξενία or πρόξενος unambiguously referring to an official quasi-ambassadorship rather than simply to hospitality and patronage in general. (b) Apart from the ambiguous *Pyth.* 4.66, the word ἀμφικτίονες in Pindar and Bacchylides always means simply ‘neighbors’ (Slater s.v.). (c) ‘A narrow interpretation of the word πρόξενοί would be at variance with the generality

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<sup>3</sup> Mistakenly reported by Willcock *Isth.* 4.8 n. to side with Wilamowitz.

and abstractness of the other two attributes of the Kleonymids' (Most (1985) 325), i.e. τιμάεντες and κελαδεννᾶς τ' ὀρφανοί | ὕβριος.<sup>4</sup>

**8-9. κελαδεννᾶς τ' ὀρφανοί | ὕβριος** : commentators usually cite *Ol.* 13.10 Ὑβριν, Κόρου ματέρα θρασύμυθον, which is not exactly parallel because θρασύμυθον refers to the content of the speech not to the volume of the voice. For a stock depiction of hubristic figures in Greek tragedy as clamorous, see Thummer *ad loc.*

**9-11.** 'However many testimonies (μαρτύρια) to the boundless glory of heroes both dead and living are abroad among men, they attained them in every issue'. For a similar expression, cf. *Pyth.* 5.116-17 ὅσαι τ' εἰσὶν ἐπιχωρίων καλῶν ἔσοδοι, | τετόλμακε [i.e. Arkesilas], 10.28-9 ὅσαις δὲ βροτὸν ἔθνος ἀγλαΐαις ἀπτόμεσθα, περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον | πλόον [i.e. victor's father].

**9. ἄηται** picks up the wind imagery of the vicissitude gnome in lines 5-6.

**10. φθιμένων ζώων τε φωτῶν** : in contrast to ἀνθρώπους, 'regular people'; cf. Thummer, *Isth.* 2.1 n. and *Isth.* 8.59-60 ἔδοξ' ἦρα καὶ ἀθανάτοις, | ἐσλόν γε φῶτα καὶ φθίμενον [i.e. Achilles] ὕμνοις θεῶν διδόμεν.

**11. πᾶν** : the Doric/Aeolic form (*Hdn.* 2.12.22 Lentz) is not metrically guaranteed here as it is in *Ol.* 2.85. Contrast 48 πᾶν.

**ἀνορέαις δ' ἐσχάταισιν** : cf. *Pyth.* 8.91 ὑποπτέροις ἀνορέαις, *Nem.* 3.20 ἀνορέαις ὑπερτάταις. In all three passages, Pindar uses ἀνορέα as a metrical variant of ἀρετά.

**12. οἴκοθεν στάλαισιν** : the word order emphasizes the distance covered by the Kleonymidai on their metaphoric voyage to the end of the world: cf. *Ol.* 3.45 νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἔσχατιαν Θήρων ἀρεταῖσιν ἰκάνων ἄπτεται | οἴκοθεν Ἡρακλέος σταλᾶν.

**στάλαισιν ... Ἡρακλείαις** : references to the Pillars of Herakles (the Straits of Gibraltar) as a boundary of navigation do not reflect the actual state of geographic

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<sup>4</sup> Most's final argument 'that the word ἀρχαῖον refers us to primordial age in which the institution of προξενία was not yet known' (325) is weak. Greek authors often retroject contemporary practices and institutions into the past.

knowledge in Pindar's time (*pace* Norwood (1945) 45). Fifth-century Greeks knew that the Pillars were not the westernmost boundary of the *οἰκουμένη* (cf. Hdt. 4.42). The significance of this geographical landmark in Greek poetry is purely symbolic.

**13. σπεύδειν** : for the infinitive in prohibitions, cf. Smyth §2013; Hummel §353.

**14-15. ἵπποτρόφοι τ' ἐγένοντο, | χαλκέω τ' Ἄρει ἄδον** : the connection between athletics and warfare was obvious for the Greek audience: cf. Currie (2005) 149-51. Pindar virtually equates the two at *Isth.* 1.50-1 ὅς δ' ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις ἢ πολεμίζων ἄρηται κῦδος ἀβρόν, | εὐαγορηθεὶς κέρδος ὕψιστον δέκεται, πολια- | τὰν καὶ ξένων γλώσσας ἄωτον.

The reference to horse-breeding alongside warfare is of special significance in a Theban ode. The geographic conditions of Boiotia were particularly convenient for horse-breeding, which allowed Thebes to field a significant amount of cavalry during military campaigns. On Boiotian cavalry, see Spence (1993) 19-22.

**χαλκέω τ' Ἄρει** : cf. the Homeric formula *χάλκεος Ἄρης*, Pind. fr. 169a *χαλκοθώρακος Ἐναυλίου*, Soph. *Aj.* 179 *χαλκοθώραξ ... Ἐννάλιος*, *Nem.* 1.16 *πολέμου* | ... *χαλκεντέος*, Bacch. 5.34 *χαλκεοστέρνου τ' Ἄρης*. The epic association of Ares with bronze endures in poetry despite the fact that bronze had long ceased to be used for production of weaponry: cf. Thomson (1944) 35-7, Snodgrass (1967) 37-8.

**ἄδον** : the *paradosis* (*ἄδον*) makes no sense and is correctly reinterpreted by Stephanus.

**16-19.** Earlier misfortunes function as a foil for present success; cf. Bacch. 11.24-39, where Alexidamos' Pythian victory offsets his earlier defeat in the Olympic games. In Pindar, the scope of the dark foil is extended beyond athletic failure to incorporate both personal and political disasters: cf. Carey (1995) 87-8. The change from bad to good fortune described in terms of seasonal (winter followed by spring) or meteorological (foul weather followed by fair) change is a recurrent motif in Pindar:

e.g., *Pyth.* 5.10-11 εὐδίαν ὃς μετὰ χειμέριον ὄμβρον τεάν | καταιθύσσει μάκαιραν  
 ἐστίαν, *Isth.* 1.39-40 νῦν δ' αἰτὶς ἀρχαίας ἐπέβασε Πότμος | συγγενὴς εὐαμερίας, 7.37-  
 38 ἔτλαν δὲ πένθος οὐ φατόν· ἀλλὰ νῦν μοι | Γαιάοχος εὐδίαν ὅπασσεν | ἐκ χειμῶνος.

Here the events of the past serve as a ‘dark’ foil for the recent success, which is a compensation for the the family’s losses. For the *topos* in general, see Bundy (1962) ii, 48-52, Bowra (1964) 249, Thummer (1969) ii 146, Peron (1974) 294-308.

**16-17b.** The modern consensus (Dissen (1821) *ad loc.*, later endorsed by Gaspar (1900) 80-6) is that the battle mentioned here is Plataia, where the Theban contingent fought on the Persian side.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the ode is usually dated to shortly after 479 BC (e.g., Snell-Maehler 474/3 BC, Gaspar 476 BC). The reason for seeing here a reference to Plataia is that the battle is described in very general terms. This reticence on the poet’s part can be taken to reflect the changing political climate in Thebes after the demise of the medizing faction in the immediate aftermath of Plataia. But the fact that Pindar does not describe the battle and its circumstances in detail does not necessarily suggest that he tries to gloss over an inconvenient subject, for in that case he could have expressed himself even more vaguely (cf. *Isth.* 1.32-40)—or else he could have passed over the incident in silence. When he praises the fallen relative of the victor in another Theban ode (*Isth.* 7.24-30), he is not more explicit about the circumstances of the battle than here. It appears, then, that Melissos’ relatives could have perished in any other Theban campaign of the fifth or even late sixth century: e.g., the Theban assault on Plataia in 519 or 509 BC, the invasion of Attica in 506 BC, hostilities with the Thessalians prior to the Persian invasion, the battles of Tanagra or

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<sup>5</sup> According to Hdt. 9.69, the Thebans lost 300 hoplites, *πρώτοι καὶ ἄριστοι*, i.e. the flower of Theban citizenry. If the kinsmen indeed fell at Plataia, they were most likely among these hoplites, since Theban cavalry was quite successful in the same battle. The fact that four of them perished together may have something to do with the fact that in the hoplite phalanx family members fought closely together.

Oinophyta both fought in 457 BC, or even some other military campaign which left no trace in our historical record.

**16. ἀλλ' ... γάρ :** ellipsis, i.e. 'but <the favor of the god of battles did not help,> for... ' (Willcock) or perhaps more generally 'but <human success is unstable,> for ...'

**17a-17b. τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο τεσσάρων | ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμωσεν μάκαιραν ἐστίαν :** there is a pointed contrast between the winter storm and the warmth of the hearth. Silk (1974) 162 compares Ar. *V.* 773 ἐὰν δὲ νείφῃ, πρὸς τὸ πῦρ καθήμενος, suggesting that '[a]gainst the hearth that, with its fire, symbolizes the household's continuing existence, is set war that destroys the family, ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμωσεν, takes away the guardians of the fire'.

**17a. τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο :** the meteorological/military imagery of the gnome in lines 5-6 is now fully realized as a snow storm of war. Application of military language to meteorological phenomena and the other way round is attested already in Homer: *Il.* 17.243 νέφος πολέμοιο; cf. also Soph. *Ant.* 670 δορός ... ἐν χειμῶνι, Eur. *Phoe.* 250 νέφος ἀσπίδων, 859 ἐν κλύδωνι δορός, *Su.* 474-7 κλύδων | ... δορός, *IT* 316 κλύδωνα πολεμίων, *Ion* 60 πολέμιος κλύδων. See further Wilamowitz, Eur. *Her.* 1140 n. For τραχύς used of the forces of nature and of military engagements, see LSJ I 2 and 3.

**17b. μάκαιραν ἐστίαν :** the use of the adjective in connection with familial hearth is exclusively Pindaric: cf. *Ol.* 1.11 ἐς ἀφνεὰν ἰκομένους | μάκαιραν Ἰέρωνος ἐστίαν, *Pyth.* 5.11 μετὰ χειμέριον ὄμβρον τεὰν | καταιθύσσει [i.e. Kastor] μάκαιραν ἐστίαν. In the first case the adjective is forestalled by ἀφνεὰν and refers to the material aspect of Hieron's 'happiness' (see Gerber *Ol.* 1.11 n.). The second example is much closer to our passage in terms of context, although the change in the fortunes of the house of Arcesilas is for the better and not for the worse. This suggests that the 'happiness' implied by μάκαιραν refers to a permanent condition which cannot be

undermined by occasional setbacks. Despite their losses, the Kleonymidai enjoy abiding divine favor. Pindar is generally reluctant to apply the adjective and its cognates to his honorands. Arcesilas and his charioteer (*Pyth.* 5.20, 46) are very notable exceptions.

**18a-18b. χειμερίων ποικίλα μηνῶν ζόφον | χθών :** there is no agreement among commentators as to which adjectives go with which nouns. Snell-Maehler adopt Hartung's ποικίλα instead of the manuscripts ποικίλων, but reject Hartung's χειμέριων and retain χειμέριον. Privitera and Willcock, on the other hand, defend the paradosis. To begin with, it must be noted that the paradosis allows for at least three interpretations: (i) μετὰ χειμέριον ποικίλων μηνῶν ζόφον, (ii) μετὰ χειμέριων ποικίλων μηνῶν ζόφον, (iii) μετὰ χειμέριων ποικίλον μηνῶν ζόφον. The MSS construe χειμέριον with ζόφον and ποικίλων with μηνῶν. Both μετὰ χειμέριων ποικίλων μηνῶν ζόφον and μετὰ χειμέριον ποικίλων μηνῶν ζόφον can be justified on the grounds of Pindaric word order (see Woodbury (1945) 372 n. 11). One way out of the quandary is to consider Hom. *Od.* 5. 485 ὄρη χειμερίη, Hes. *Op.* 565 χειμέρι' ... ἤματα, Sim 508.1 χειμέριον κατὰ μῆνα, and Hdt. 2.68.1 τοὺς χειμειρωτάτους μῆνας against the fact that χειμέριος ζόφος appears for the first time in Byzantine times. '[Can] we be sure that Pindar was not capable of the 'wintry darkness of the many-coloured months?' (Willcock, *ad loc.*). Certainly not. But the parallels cited above seem to support χειμέριων ... μηνῶν.

ποικίλον as acc. with ζόφον seems impossible: (a) 'many-colored darkness' makes little sense; (b) 'changing, shifting darkness' does not contribute much to the context. Taken as gen. pl. with μηνῶν (i.e. gen. of time: 'but now after the wintry darkness in the colored months [of spring] etc.') it is still problematic: (a) the construction requires χειμέριον ... ζόφον, which, as we have seen above, lacks adequate parallels; (b) ποικίλοι μῆνες is not a familiar expression for 'spring'; (c) the

resulting word order, i.e. *ποικίλων μηνῶν* framed by *χειμέριον ... ζόφον*, finds no parallels in Pindar: Erdmann (1867) 26; Jebb (1907) 87.

Taking a completely different line of approach, one might argue that *ποικίλων μηνῶν* is dependant on *ζόφον*, i.e. ‘darkness of months’, in which case *ποικίλων* would be not a reference to the colors of spring but to the ups and downs of the Kleonymid fortunes (e.g., Mezger, Farnell, and Privitera). Yet the problems persist: (a) *ποικίλων μηνῶν ζόφον* in the sense ‘after the wintry darkness of months which *bring all kinds of things, good and bad*’ does not fit the context; between the infamous battle and Melissos’ present victory at the Isthmos, the family did not experience any change for the better which *ποικίλων* (‘this and that’) seems to suggest. It is only after his victory that the Kleonymidai saw the revival of their fame. (b) The problem of the word order remains.

The best solution is Hartung’s *ποικίλα*,<sup>6</sup> which derives support from the scholia (*Σ Isth.* 4.29c τὸ γὰρ ποικίλων μηνῶν, ἥτοι καθὸ ποικίλα καὶ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ γίνεται, ἥ ποικίλων τῶν καρπῶν, καθ’ οὓς ὅλη ἡ γῆ ποικίλη γίνεται τῇ τῶν φυτῶν ἐξανθήσει, ὅπερ ἄμεινον) and from Pindar’s penchant for attracting syntactically unrelated words into the prepositional phrase: cf. *Pyth.* 4.42 καί νυν ἐν τᾷδ’ ἀφθιτον νάσω κέχνται Λιβύας εὐρυχόρου σπέρμα πρὶν ὥρας cited by Woodbury (1947) 373.

For interlaced word-order in Pindar, see Erdmann (1867), Dornseiff (1921) 107-10, Sulzer (1970), Race (2001) 21-33. For some useful statistics on the separation of noun and adjective in Pindar, see Lauer (1959) 52-4.

**18b. ὦτε :** the subject of ἀνθησεν is ἐστία (‘house’, ‘family’): cf. *Σ Isth.* 4.29c ἀλληγορεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου· εἰς ἔαρ μετέβαλε, φησίν, ἡ οἰκία Μελίσσου. On the form of the

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Lucr. 1.7-8 *tibi suavis daedala tellus | summittit flores*.



comparative adverb, see Braswell, *Pyth.* 4.64 n.(d). For a comprehensive list of similes in Pindar, see Schmid-Stählin ii, 597 n. 3.

**φοινικέοισιν** : ‘red’ is both simple and adequate because *φοῖνιξ* covers a broad gamut of red hues (e.g., *Pyth.* 1.24 ‘fire’, 4.205 ‘cows’). Irwin’s (1974) 168 suggestion that ‘[w]inter is dark because no bright flowers bloom’ fails to convince even if we sympathize with her general thesis that the Greeks perceived colors in degrees of light and dark. There are many other reasons why winter could be conceptualized as dark.

On the *φοιν*-family of color terms and their use in Greek poetry, see Platnauer (1921) 158 and Handschur (1970) 124-7.

**ῥόδοις** : twice in Pindar, fr. 70d[c] 2 [...]σι τε ῥόδ[ων] and fr. 75.17 ῥόδα τε κόμαισι μέγνυνται. Since the Isthmian games were held in late April or May, the choice of roses as a symbol of the family’s revival is probably not accidental: cf. Thphr. *HP* 6.8.2 τὸ δὲ ῥόδον ὑστερεῖ τούτων [i.e. flowers of the wild vine, violet, sealavender, corn-flag, and hyacinth] καὶ τελευταῖον μὲν φαίνεται, πρῶτον δ’ ἀπολείπει τῶν ἔαρινῶν ὀλιγοχρονία γὰρ ἡ ἀνθησις.

**19. δαιμόνων βουλαῖς** : the enjambment is very emphatic. It stresses the fact that the revival of the family’s fortunes must be credited to the gods. For triadic and strophic enjambment in Pindar, see Nierhaus (1936) 16-26. For the phrase, cf. *Ol.* 6.45-6 δύο δὲ γλαυκῶπες αὐτόν (i.e. Iamos) | δαιμόνων βουλαῖσιν ἐθρέψαντο δράκοντες, *Bacch.* 11.121 βουλαῖσι θεῶν μακάρων | πέρσαν πόλιν εὐκτιμέναν, *Hes. Th.* 730 βουλῇσι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο.

**19-20.** The two *sedes* of Poseidon (his sanctuaries at the Isthmos and at Onchestos) are similarly linked in another ode addressed to a Theban victor: *Isth.* 1.32-3 ἐγὼ δὲ Ποσειδάωνι Ἰσθμῷ τε ζαθέα | Ὀρχηστίασιν τ’ αἰόνεσσιν περιστέλλων αἰοιδάν. Poseidon who dwells at Onchestos shows his favor towards his Theban neighbors by granting them athletic victories in the games taking place near his sanctuary at the Isthmos. The

idea is in keeping with Pindar's general tendency to draw connections between the venues of the games and the hometowns of his honorands.

**19. κινητῆρ δὲ γᾶς :** earthquakes are one of the three main spheres of Poseidon's activity. Notice that in only two lines Pindar manages to bring all of them together (19 κινητῆρ δὲ γᾶς - god of earthquakes, 19 Ὀγχηστόν - god of horses, 20 γέφυραν ποντιάδα - god of the sea). For the epithet, cf. *h. Pos.* 2 γαίης κινητῆρα, Pind. fr. \*18 (Snell-Maehler) Ποσειδῶν ἐλασίχθων, *Ar. Nub.* 566-68 γῆς τε καὶ ἁλμυρᾶς θαλασσης ἄγριον μοχλευτήν.

**Ὀγχηστόν :** a very old and important Boiotian sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios. It was located at the foot of Mt. Sphinx, modern Phaga, close to the basin of lake Kopias, approximately 5 km to the east of present day Hilartos: cf. Kirsten (1939) and Funke (2007) s.v. 'Onchestos'. Earliest references to the sanctuary are found in *Il.* 2.506, *h. Apol.* 229-38, and *h. Herm.* 186-7. For the cult of Poseidon Hippios at Onchestos, see Schachter (1986) vol. 2, 207-21.

**οἰκέων :** when Greek gods are not convened upon Olympus, they sojourn in various haunts, which normally correspond to the sites of their major sanctuaries. A Greek temple (ναός) housed the image of a god and was in fact considered as his or her actual place of residence: cf. Burkert (1985) 88. For other Pindaric references to sanctuaries as divine 'dwellings', cf. *Ol.* 14.1, *Pyth.* 2.7, 11. 63-4, 12.2, *Nem.* 1.3, *Nem.* 10.2.

**20. γέφυραν ποντιάδα πρὸ Κορίνθου τειχέων :** cf. *Nem.* 6.39-41 πόντου τε γέφυρ' ἀκάμαντος ἐν ἀμφικτιόνων | ταυροφόνωι τριετηρίδι Κρεοντίδαν | τίμασε Ποσειδάωιον ἄν τέμενος. The Isthmian sanctuary of Poseidon was located on the southern side of the Isthmos, near the Saronic coast: see Map 3. For a detailed description of the site, see Broneer (1971).

**γέφυραν ποντιάδα** : ‘the sea bridge’, i.e. the Isthmos, a narrow strip of land (6 km wide), which connects the Peloponnese to the rest of mainland Greece.

**πρὸ Κορίνθου τειχέων** : ‘in front of the walls of Corinth’, i.e. from the perspective of someone who is in Thebes or approaches the Isthmos from the east. Similarly, *Ol.* 9.86 ἄλλαι δὲ δὴ ἐν Κορίνθου πύλαις (i.e. at the Isthmian sanctuary) ἐγένοντ’ ἔπειτα χάρμαι (an ode to a victor from Opous), *Bacch.* 1.13-14 ὦ Πέλοπος λιπαρᾶς | νάσον θεόδματοι πύλαι (i.e. Corinth, in an ode to a victor from Ceos). For the speaker’s perspective from inside the Peloponnese, cf. *Ol.* 13.5 (an ode for a victor from Corinth) γνώσομαι | τὰν ὀλβίαν Κόρινθον, Ἰσθμίου | πρόθυρον Ποσειδᾶνος, a passage on which Boeckh (1821) 212 observes: ‘*Corinthum dici πρόθυρον Ποσειδᾶνος, quia in Isthmo sit Peloponnesi ad introitum non concoquo: uidetur potius ideo πρόθυρον Ποσειδᾶνος uocari, quod ex Olympia adeuntibus, unde haec pompa ducitur, ante Isthmum Neptuno sacrum posita est*’.

It seems a bit odd that Pindar refers to the Isthmian sanctuary of Poseidon as being located ‘in front of the walls of Corinth’ which in fact lies about 9 km to the west.<sup>7</sup> There are two possibilities to reckon with. (a) Although normally *πρό* is used with gen. of the city to suggest proximity within eyesight (e.g., *Il.* 15.351, *Ol.* 13.56), the basic function of the preposition is to locate object X in relation to object Y, regardless of the actual distance between them. If the ode was indeed composed some time after the Persian invasion, a reference to the walls of Corinth would neatly square with our evidence for the hectic post-war fortification activity in the city; the only walled part of Corinth prior to the invasion seems to have been only its citadel, the Acrocorinth. For archeological evidence, see Carpenter (1936) 1-83. (b) In 1957 the Chicago University expedition (Broneer (1966) 346-62, Broneer (1968) 25-35) at the

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<sup>7</sup> A similar question troubled Farnell in connection with *Ol.* 9.86 cited above. He suggested that ἐν Κορίνθου πύλαις refers to the minor local games of the Hellotia which were held closer to the city.

Isthmos uncovered a long stretch of Mycenaean wall several hundred meters south and west of the temple of Poseidon. The original purpose of the wall was most likely to block the passage against the invaders from the north, and it seems possible that parts of it were refurbished during the hasty attempts of the Peloponnesians to fortify the Isthmos against the Persians. Although we do not know the state of the wall's preservation in Pindar's time, his audience may have been aware of the fact that the Isthmian temple of Poseidon was literally located in front of an old fortification wall.

**21.** There seem no other passage in Pindar and Bacchylides where the presiding god of the games confers the song on the victor or on his family by himself, without the mediation of the poet or the Muses.

**22-3. ἐκ λεχέων ἀνάγει ... | ... ἐν ὕπνῳ γὰρ πέσεν :** since the verb ἀνάγω does not mean simply 'to rouse from sleep' but 'to bring back to life' (LSJ s.v. I. 4, citing this passage), ἐκ λεχέων may at first be taken as a reference to a funeral bier (LSJ s.v. 2), an impression corrected only when we reach ἐν ὕπνῳ. Even so, the funereal image suggested in 22 is not dispelled altogether since the Greeks viewed death and sleep as closely related concepts (cf. Hes. *Th.* 212, 756-66, Hom. *Il.* 14.231, 16.454-7, 671-83). For death described as sleep, cf. Hes. *Th.* 116 θνητῶν δ' ὥσθ' ὕπνῳ δεδμημένοι with West's note. For the expression ἐν ὕπνῳ ... πέσεν, cf. Soph. *Ph.* 825-6 (of an oblivious slumber following a paroxysm) ἀλλ' ἐάσωμεν, φίλοι, ἔκκλητον αὐτόν (i.e. Philoktetes), ὥς ἂν εἰς ὕπνον πέσῃ, Aesch. *Eum.* 67-9 καὶ νῦν ἀλούσας τάσδε τὰς μάργους (i.e. Erinyes) ὁράις· | ὕπνῳ πεσοῦσαι δ' αἱ κατάπτυστοι κόραι, | γραιαὶ παλαιὰ παῖδες.

**23. χρῶτα λάμπει :** 'shines with her body' (acc. of respect). The φάμα of the Kleonymidai assumes flesh and blood. Now that she is awake, her body is glowing with beauty and youth. For the words of radiance used in reference to the look of a young and healthy body, cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.27 φαίδιμα γυνῖα (= *Il.* 19.385, Hes. *Th.* 492),

*Od.* 11.128 ἀνὰ φαιδίμῳ ὥμῳ, *Bacch.* 17.14-16 ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλα-|ῶν λάμπε γυίων σέλας | ὅτε πυρός, *Pi. Ol.* 1.27 φαίδιμον ὄμον, *Thuc.* 6.54. 2 ὥρα ἡλικίας λαμπροῦ. See also *Theoc.* 2.78 στήθεα δὲ στίλβοντα πολὺ πλέον ἢ τύ, *Σελάνα* to which Gow compares *Od.* 6.237 κάλλει καὶ χάρισι στίλβων and *Charit.* 1.1 τότε δὲ *Χαιρέας* ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἐβάδιζεν οἴκαδε στίλβων ὥσπερ ἀστήρ.

**χρῶτα** : according to Lehrs (1837) 193-4, *χρῶς* in its early use always means skin not body. However, in most cases it is impossible to determine which of the two is meant. Pindar uses the word three times: once unambiguously referring to the body *Pyth.* 5.55 ἀσθενεῖ μὲν χρωτὶ βαίνων (i.e. Philoctetes); once to skin fr. 43 (Snell-Maehler) ὦ τέκνον, ποντίου θηρὸς πετραίου (i.e. the octopus) | χρωτὶ μάλιστα νόον | προσφέρων πάσαις πολίεσσιν ὀμίλει, and ambiguously here.

**24. Ἄωσφόρος θαητὸς ὥς ἄστροις ἐν ἄλλοις** : Venus is ‘at its maximum twelve times brighter than Sirius, the brightest of the fixed stars, and more than six times brighter than Jupiter and Mars, its nearest planetary rivals’ (West, *Th.* 381 n.). It is tempting to suggest that, since the Morning Star is the third brightest object in the sky after the sun and the moon, Pindar’s choice of this celestial body may have something to do with the rank occupied by the Isthmian games in the hierarchy of athletic festivals: cf. Negri (2004) 44-118. Other, less significant ‘stars’ (ἄστροις ἐν ἄλλοις) are specified in the catalogue that follows.

**Ἄωσφόρος** : ever since Schroeder’s endorsement of Bergk’s *Ἄσφορος*, the reading has become the modern vulgate (adopted e.g. by Turyn, Bowra, Privitera, Snell-Maehler, and Willcock). Snell does not record the fact that it is a reinterpretation of the paradosis, and no recent commentator considers the issue worthy of discussion. However, the very fact that the etymological dictionaries of Chantraine and Frisk cite the line with *Ἄωσ-* (ignoring Bergk’s *Ἀοσ-*) warrants some discussion. Bergk’s argument is as follows: ‘*Ἄωσφόρος omnino ratione caret, debebat Ἀοσφόρος dici: fuit*

*enim opinor olim etiam τὸ αἶος (αἶσος) i.e. lux in usu: idque ipsum vocabulum servavit Boeotum sermo, qui ἄες (sive ἄες) i.e. αὔριον dicebant (vid. Hesych.), quamquam iidem praeterea ἄας usurpabant, quod descendit ab Aeolico vocabulo αὔα, quo Sappho usa est: ἄες enim est ἄος, quemadmodum Κυνόσαργες i.e. κυνὸς ἄργος dici solebat. Ex illo αἶος (ἄος) rite descendit Ἀοσφόρος ... quamquam poterat etiam Ἀεσφόρος dici etc.’* None of this is linguistically compelling or even plausible. First of all, an adverbial ἄες ‘tomorrow’ (reflecting Proto-Greek *\*auhes* < PIE endingless locative *\*h<sub>2</sub>us-es*; an †ἄος ‘dawn’ would be impossible in any case) does not actually imply a hypothetical neuter *\*ἄος* in place of ordinary Doric (ἄως/ἄως) in the first place: cf. αἰές ‘always’ beside αἰώς (acc. αἰῶν), on which see Chantraine s.v. αἰών.<sup>8</sup> But Ἀοσφόρος raises no particular problem anyway. One should probably start from the premise that the text of Pindar acquired by Hellenistic scholars had ΑΩΣΦΟΡΟΣ, which may represent either ἄωσ- or ἄοσ-φόρος. Yet the synizesis in the Pindaric form strongly implies that it is merely a ‘de-Ionicization’ of Homeric ἑωσφόρος (— with synizetic ἑωσ-). In the Homeric form, for its part, monosyllabic ἑωσ- is plausibly explained as a last-minute Ionicization of an *\*αὔσ-φορο-*, where the first member in turn reflects Proto-Greek *\*aus-* < PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>u(s)-s-*, with a complete apophonic reduction that can be paralleled in very archaic inherited compounds. But however this last may be, the adaptation of the Homeric form by Pindar would have been carried out by a straightforward analogical process like Ion. ἑώς : Hom. ἑωσ- = Dor./Boe. ἄως/ἄως : X.<sup>9</sup>

**ῶς** : for the postponement, cf. *Ol.* 2.87 παγγλωσσαι κόρακες ῶς ἄκραντα γαρύετων, *Pyth.* 2.80 ἀβάπτιστος εἶμι φελλὸς ῶς ὑπὲρ ἔρκος ἄλμας, *Bacch.* 13.82 ἐν

<sup>8</sup> The Boiotian genitival adverb *ἄας* [necessarily *ἄās*], though certainly a form of the same *ā*-stem as gave rise to Lesb. *αὔα*, is uninformative about *ἄες*; and *Κυνόσαργες* is entirely irrelevant.

<sup>9</sup> Much of what is said in this note I owe to Professor Alan Nussbaum.

πάντεσσιν [...] | πυρσὸν ὥς Ἑλλ[ασι ...] | φαίνων, fr. 56\* ἀρετὰ γὰρ ἐπαινεομένα  
δένδρον ὥς ἀέξεται.

**25-6. κἄν ... | ἔν τ'** : 'both ... and', which is however 'not a genuine combination of particles, inspite of apperent exx.' (Slater s.v. E.2.g), i.e. *Isth.* 2.19, 2.23, 7.32-3.

**ἄ τε** = *quippe quae* ('that very one who'): see Denniston 523.

**γουννοῖς Ἀθανᾶν** : the reference is to the Greater Panathenaia, a festival which took place quadrennially, every third year of each Olympiad, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of the Attic month of H ek atombaion (July/August). The foundation of both Lesser and Greater Panathenaia was traced back to times immemorial and associated with the figures of Erichtonios and Theseus. The Greater Panathenaia seem to have been refurbished some time in the mid-sixth century. The new games featured horse-racing, athletics, and music. The festival was chrematitic, i.e. the victors were awarded valuable prizes. Victors in equestrian and athletic disciplines received sets of amphorae filled with oil from the sacred olives.<sup>10</sup> These amphorae are characterized by a distinctive shape and pattern of decoration (cf. *Nem.* 10.34-6 ἐν τελεταῖς δις Ἀθαναίων νιν ὀμφαί | κόμασαν· γαῖά δὲ κανθείσα πυρὶ καρπὸς ἐλαίας | ἔμολεν Ἥρας τὸν εὐάνορα λαὸν ἐν ἀγγέων | ἔρκεσιν παμποικίλοις)<sup>11</sup> and often bear the inscription *TON AΘENEΘEN AΘAION*. The earliest amphorae of this type are dated to roughly around 560 BC. Their wide distribution throughout the Greek world (Greece proper, Sicily, Italy, and Cyrene) suggests the prestige of the games.

**γουννοῖς** : the derivation of the word is uncertain. Ancient scholarship offers two etymologies: (a) *τόπος γονιμώτατος*, 'fertile land' (*Σ D* in Hom. *Il.* 10.534), (b) *ὕψηλός τόπος*, 'high ground', related to *γόνυ* (Orion, *Etym.* 38.6). Modern scholars are almost unanimous in favoring the second (e.g. Frisk, Chantraine, *Lfgre*). This etymology is

<sup>10</sup> For the quantities of oil awarded to the victors in equestrian disciplines, see *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2311, 51-70.

<sup>11</sup> See Beazley (1951) ch. 8 and Boardman (1974) 167-77.

supported by the topography of the city and the fact that Attica's poor soil was a byword in antiquity: cf. Thuc. 1.2. For a detailed description of hills and mountains of the region, see Paus. 1.32 and Frazer (1897) 418-31.

**ἄρμα καρύξαισα νικᾶν** is equivalent to *καρύξαισα ὅτι ἄρμα ἐνίκα* (Dissen, *Nem.* 5.5 n.) or rather *καρύξαισα ὅτι ἄρμα νικᾷ* (Bury) because the actual words of the proclamation introduced by *ὅτι* must have been in the present. However, the construction of *κηρύσσω* with acc. and inf. instead of *ὅτι* is unparalleled. Hence the alternative interpretation of the paradosis in the scholia, i.e. *νίκαν* instead of *νικᾶν* (*Σ' Isth.* 4.42a *ἥτις φήμη καὶ δόξα ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ Σικυῶνι κατὰ τὸν Ἀδράστου ἀγῶνα τὰ τούτου ἄρματα κηρύξασα τὴν νίκην ἐνεχείρισεν*). This involves two problems. First, *φάμα* cannot be the agent whereby the victory is achieved; it can only be its immediate outcome. Second, taking *νίκαν* as the object of *ᾤπασεν* is problematic because (a) it creates a very unusual word order (*κὰν γουνοῖς Ἀθανᾶν ἄρμα καρύξαισα νίκαν | ἐν τ' Ἀδραστείοις ἀέθλοισι Σικυῶνος ᾤπασεν*) with the object breaking the coordination (*κὰν γουνοῖς Ἀθανᾶν ... ἐν τ' Ἀδραστείοις ἀέθλοισι*) and being placed so far ahead of the verb on which it depends; (b) it would also leave *τοιιάδε τῶν τότ' ἐόντων φύλλ' αἰοιδᾶν* without grammatical construction, presumably in loose apposition to *φάμα* itself or to the act of heralding.

One might suggest that the acc. and inf. dependant on *κηρύσσω* is introduced by analogy with a more flexible *ἀνείπον*, which can be followed either by acc. and inf. or by *ὅτι* + finite verb, or even by direct speech. The analogy may have been facilitated by the fact that *κηρυκ*-cognates are frequently used in conjunction or in close proximity with this verb: cf. *Pyth.* 1.32 *Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳι κάρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν*, *Xen. An.* 2.2.20 *ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε σιγὴν κηρύξαντα ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὃς ἂν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὅπλα μηνύσῃ κτλ.* (note that *ὅτι* follows *ἀνειπεῖν*, not *κηρύξαντα*), *Thuc.* 4.105 *κήρυγμα τόδε ἀνειπῶν ... τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον ... μένειν.*



**26. Ἀδραστείοις ἀέθλοις Σικυῶνος** : the local Pythian festival at Sikyon, the venue of Chromios' chariot victory at *Nem.* 9, where Pindar similarly credits the foundation of the games to Adrastos (*Nem.* 9.9 ἄτε [i.e. equestrian contests] Φοίβῳ θῆκεν Ἀδραστος ἐπ' Ἀσωποῦ ῥέεθροις). Ancient commentators (*Nem.* Σ 9. inscr., 20, 25a), however, attribute the foundation of the games to the tyrant of Sikyon, Kleisthenes, and explain Pindar's reference to Adrastos as an attempt to enhance the prestige of the games using 'poetic license'.<sup>12</sup> This second tradition must have something to do with the well-known story of the bride contest in Herodotus (6.126.3), who mentions the athletic facilities constructed by Kleisthenes for competing suitors. However, the association of Adrastos with Sikyon seems to have been a very old one (cf. *Il.* 2.572 καὶ Σικυῶν' (i.e. ἐνέμοντο), ὅθ' ἄρ' Ἀδρηστος πρῶτ' ἐμβασίλευεν), and it is highly unlikely that Pindar would have attributed the foundation of the games to him without at least some basis in the existing tradition. The very fact that Pindar refers to Adrastos as the founder of the games in both a Theban and a Sicilian ode seems to suggest that this aetiology was widely familiar in the fifth century. As plausibly argued by Robertson (1991) 28, 'if Cleisthenes did no more than to rename and refurbish an older festival of Apollo, the mythical origin asserted by Pindar was no doubt traditional at Sicyon'. One might further suggest that, if the story of Kleisthenes' animosity toward Adrastos has any basis in fact (*Hdt.* 5.67), the tyrant was probably trying to recast the old Sikyonian festival, presenting himself as the founder. In that case, Pindar's reference to Adrastos as the founder of the games may reflect the rehabilitation of the hero at the end of the sixth century after the demise of the Orthagorid ruling family: cf. Griffin (1982) 53. For a more speculative attempt to

<sup>12</sup> *Nem.* Σ 9.20 ἀνατίθησι γὰρ τὴν τῶν Πυθίων θέσιν ἐν Σικυῶνι Ἀδράστῳ, ποιητικὴν ἄγων ἄδειαν, Κλεισθένους αὐτὰ διαθέντος, καθὰ δεδήλωται (i.e. *Nem.* 9. inscr.) ἢ οὖν ἐνδοξότερον ἀποφήνη τὸν ἀγῶνα.

consider Pindar's attribution of the games to Adrastus in the context of fifth century politics, see Hubbard (1992) 81-6, convincingly refuted by Braswell, *Nem.* 9.9 n.

**Ἀδραστείοις** : for 'Attic' correption (whereby a syllable containing a short vowel is treated as 'light' for metrical purposes when the vowel is followed by *muta cum liquida*), see Braswell, *Nem.* 9.9 n and literature there.

**27. τοιάδε τῶν τότ' ἐόντων φύλλ' ἀοιδᾶν** : for a long time Simonides was credited with the invention of the epinician genre.<sup>13</sup> The idea still occasionally crops up in modern literature (e.g., Kurke (1991) 59, 258 n. 5, Robbins (1997) 224). Recent scholars (e.g., Thomas (2007) 144-7), however, have been more willing to accept an earlier date. Although it is impossible to say with any amount of certainty when the first songs in honor of victorious athletes were composed, we can now push the date a bit further back thanks to Barron (1984) 20-1, who has convincingly demonstrated that some of the fragments of Ibycus seem to have a strong epinician coloring. Barron is rightly skeptical about the idea that earlier athletes would have been content with the simple *τήνελλα καλλίνικε* chant. Although the fact that Pindar himself traces the origins of the genre back to the heroic age (*Ol.* 10.76-8, *Nem.* 8.51-3) cannot be taken as historical evidence, it seems unlikely, as noted by Barron, that he could have insisted on the antiquity of the genre had he and his audience known that it was invented only a generation or two ago. Just how far back the tradition of epinician poetry extends we have no means of knowing. However, it must be noticed that the opening priamel of Tyrt. 12 W (οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἀνδρα τιθείην | οὔτε ποδῶν ἀρετῆς οὔτε παλαιμοσύνης, | οὐδ' εἰ Κυκλώπων μὲν ἔχοι μέγεθος τε βίην τε, | νικῶνι δὲ θέων Θρηάκιον Βορέην) seems to suggest, if not require, the existence of poetry praising athletic prowess as early as the seventh century.

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<sup>13</sup> This assumption is based on no evidence whatsoever and seems to have its origin in the scholiastic tendency to conceive of Simonides as a *πρώτος εὔρετής* figure.

**25-9.** The catalogue of minor festivals ends with a reference to the great games of the *periodos*.<sup>14</sup> Formally speaking, the catalogue is developed on the principle of ‘rising’ elements (i.e. Behagel’s law). According to this principle, ‘groups of three or more units are marked by an effect of climax’ (Race (1990) 9). It is important to note, however, that the last and the longest element of the catalogue in this passage (28-9 οὐδὲ παναγυρίων ξυνᾶν ἀπείχον | καμπύλον δίφρον, Πανελλάνεσσι δ’ ἐριζόμενοι δαπάνᾳ χαῖρον ἵππων) is admittedly anticlimactic with regard to its content. In effect, it suggests that the Kleonymidai were unable to obtain a victory in the Panhellenic games. Nevertheless, as behoves an encomiast, Pindar tries to turn this fact to the advantage of the family, underlining their ability to enter chariots in the most prestigious festivals. Although elsewhere Pindar normally focuses on the ignominy which haunts the defeated athlete (*Pyth.* 8.84-7, *Ol.* 8.67-8), in this particular case the failure of the Kleonymidai is presented as a significant achievement.<sup>15</sup> However, a failure is a failure, and it would be disingenuous on the part of the poet, if not simply impossible, to disguise it as a victory. Hence, the catalogue is followed by a series of gnomic reflections on success and failure illustrated by the story of Aias’ suicide.

**29. καμπύλον δίφρον :** lit. ‘curved chariot-board’, i.e. synecdoche for ‘chariot’. The δίφρος was in effect the main body of the vehicle where the rider(s) stood: cf. *Pol. Onom.* 1.141 ἐπιβεβήκασιν δὲ τοῦ ἄρματός τινος δίφρον ἡνίοχος καὶ παραβάτης. The epithet is conventional and refers to the curved shape of the front and side rails attached to the δίφρος: cf. *Hom. Il.* 5.231 καμπύλον ἄρμα, 6.39 ἄγκυλον ἄρμα. On ancient Greek chariots, see Crouwel (1992).

**Πανελλάνεσσι ἐριζόμενοι δαπάνᾳ χαῖρον ἵππων :** usually understood as ‘competing with all the Greeks they enjoyed spending money on horses’ (e.g., Slater,

<sup>14</sup> On the structure of epinician victory catalogues, see Gerber (2002) 71-8.

<sup>15</sup> For similar discreet allusions to a missed victory, cf. *Nem.* 6.61-3, *Nem.* 11.24-32, *Bacch.* 4.11-18, 11.24-36.

Thummer, Privitera, Race). *Isth.* 6.10 *δαπάνῃ τε χαρεῖς* gives a slight edge to this interpretation. However, there seems to be no serious objection to taking *χαίρω* closely with *ἐριζόμενοι*, i.e. ‘they enjoyed competing with all the Greeks in spending money on horses’ (e.g., Σ, Boeckh, Dissen, Donaldson).

**Πανελλάνεσσι** : the word first appears in *Il.* 2.530 *ἐγχείη δ’ ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς*, which if genuine seems to distinguish between the Panhellenes (the northern Greeks) and the Achaeans.<sup>16</sup> In its wider sense (i.e. ‘the Greeks’) the word is first attested in Hes. *Op.* 528, fr. 130 and Archil. 102 W.

**δαπάνῃ ... ἵππων** : possession and maintenance of horses was a financial burden that few citizens could comfortably sustain. Although most evidence concerning the monetary value of horses comes from Athens, we cannot be too far off the mark in assuming a similar price range for Thebes. Literary sources tell us that the price of a fine cavalry horse could be as high as 1200 dr. (*Ar. Nub.* 20, *Lys.* 8.10) or in some cases even higher (*Xen. Anab.* 7.8.6, 50 darics = 1250 dr.). These figures are largely confirmed by the evidence of the cavalry archive discovered in 1971 in the Agora: cf. Kroll (1977).<sup>17</sup> The total expenses, however, must have been exorbitant when we consider additional costs associated with forage, gear, maintenance of stables, staff, and most importantly access to, if not actual ownership, of grazing land outside city walls.<sup>18</sup>

**30-43.** The myth is introduced by means of gnomic progression, where ‘every sentiment is related to the one after it and the one before, so that the reader proceeds as it were on a series of mental stepping stones’ (Slater (1979) 66): (1) ‘if you don’t compete, you will be unknown’; (2) ‘but even if you do, the outcome is uncertain’; (3)

<sup>16</sup> For a synopsis of scholarly views on this line, see Mitchell (2007) 67 n. 32.

<sup>17</sup> In comparison, the average house value was somewhere between 1000 and 2000 dr.: cf. Hurschmann (2002).

<sup>18</sup> All the evidence and up-to-date bibliography on this subject is conveniently assembled by Scott (2005) 513-21.

‘fortune gives good and bad things’; (4) ‘even a stronger man is sometimes beaten by the cunning of a weaker opponent’; (5) ‘you know what happened to Ajax’. The vicissitude foil, item (3), is a pivot which looks back to the failure of the Kleonymidai to score a victory in the Panhellenic games (see *Isth.* 4.25-9 n. above) and forward to the story of Aias’ failure in the contest for the arms of Achilles and subsequent suicide. In a similar way, Pindar uses a pivotal gnome in order to move out of the mythical narrative and return to the immediate occasion of the ode (*Isth.* 4.37-43): (1) ‘Homer has set the reputation of Aias straight’; (2) ‘poetic praise guarantees immortality’; (3) ‘may I do the same thing for Melissos’. In this series, item (2) both looks back to what Homer has accomplished for Aias and anticipates what Pindar wishes to accomplish for his honorand, Melissos.

**30-6.** Köhnken (1971) 94-114 has argued that lines 31-2 (ἔστιν δ’ ἀφάνεια τύχας καὶ μαρναμένων, | πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι) and the myth of Aias refer to the loss of Melissos’ four kinsmen mentioned earlier in lines 16-17 (ἀλλ’ ἀμέρα γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ | τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο τεσσάρων | ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμωσεν μάκαιραν ἐστίαν), and that the failure of the Kleonymidai in the Panhellenic games was largely due to this loss (28-9 οὐδὲ παναγυρίων ξυνᾶν ἀπείχον | καμπύλον δίφρον, Πανελλάνεσσι δ’ ἐριζόμενοι δαπάνα χαίρον ἵππων). Köhnken’s basic assumption is that the contrast between the battle (16-17) and the recent athletic victory of Melissos (18 νῦν δ’ ἀν) suggest that the two events are somehow related, i.e. the family’s temporary lack of success in the games can be explained by a sudden loss of four potential competitors. Köhnken proceeds to interpret lines 31-2 (ἔστιν δ’ ἀφάνεια τύχας καὶ μαρναμένων, | πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι) in accordance with this theory: (a) τύχα is not neutral (‘fortune’), but equals εὐτυχία; (b) μαρναμένων is a specific reference to warriors rather than athletes; (c) πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι has no agonistic associations; (d) πρὶν + ἰκέσθαι means ‘before they could reach’, instead of ‘until they reach’. The result is as follows: ‘the good

fortune of the warriors sometimes disappears before they can reach the highest goal'. The gnome, according to Köhnken, looks backwards to the Kleonymidai, whose ascent to Panhellenic glory was temporarily halted by the loss of their relatives, and forward to Aias, who committed suicide before he could gain the universal acclaim as the best warrior.

Köhnken's basic assumption is not compelling.<sup>19</sup> First, there is no reason to suppose that the dark foil must have anything to do with Melissos' present victory; the contrast is simply between adverse fortune in the past and favorable fortune in the present. Second, participants in equestrian events did not normally compete in person. Therefore, if these losses did not affect their financial standing, the chances of the family to win in the chariot race were as good as ever. Third, Köhnken's interpretation of lines 31-2 does not stand up to scrutiny: (a) taking *τύχας* as 'good fortune' will contradict line 33 *τῶν τε γὰρ καὶ τῶν διδοί*, i.e. 'she distributes both good and bad things'; (b) although the primary sense of *μάρνασθαι* is military, it is not unusual for the verb to be used in a more general sense 'to strive' (*Ol.* 5.15-16 *αἰεὶ δ' ἄμφ' ἀρεταῖσι πόνος δαπάνη τε μάρναται πρὸς ἔργον | κινδύνῳ κεκαλυμμένον*, *Nem.* 1.25 *χρὴ δ' ἐν εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς στεῖχοντα μάρνασθαι φυᾶ*, *Nem.* 10.85 *κασιγνήτου πέρι μάρνασαι*, *Isth.* 5.54-56 *μαρνάσθω δέ τις ἔρδων | ἄμφ' ἀέθλοισιν γενεὰν Κλεονίκου | ἐκμαθών*); (c) Köhnken seems to completely ignore the adverb *καὶ* ('even') which underscores the connection between *ἀπειράτων* and *μαρναμένων* (i.e. = *πειρώντων*; cf. *Σ Isth.* 4.52b *καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ὃ δῆποτε ἀγώνισμα, ἀφανές ἐστι*); see Radt (1974) 119 n. 1; (d) Köhnken's argument that *πρὶν* + inf. following the affirmative main clause *ἔστιν δ' ἀφάνεια τύχας* can only mean 'before' and not 'until' is not watertight because the main clause *ἔστιν δ' ἀφάνεια* is virtually negative (Hummel § 423) and therefore is capable of taking *πρὶν* + inf. instead of the more regular *πρὶν* + ἄν

<sup>19</sup> For a still harsher verdict see Radt (1974) 116: '[d]ie Interpretation von I. 4 ist geradezu absurd'.

+ subj. in the sense ‘until’; see K-G ii 458; Smyth, § 2455-56; (e) the phrase τέλος ἄκρον probably means ‘end of the racecourse’ (see Privitera (1982) 178, Barrett (2007) 75-6) not ‘*praemium summum*’ (Dissen): cf. *Pyth.* 9.118 ποτὶ γραμμῇ μὲν αὐτὰν (i.e. his daughter, Barke)| σταῖσε κοσμήσαις, τέλος ἔμμεν ἄκρον, not ‘he set her by the finish line to be the highest prize’, but ‘he set her by the mark to serve as a finishing-post’.

**30. τῶν ἀπειράτων :** ‘those who do not enter the contests’ (*Σ Isth.* 4.47b τῶν γὰρ μὴ καθιέντων αὐτοὺς εἰς ἄμιλλαν καὶ πειρωμένων ἀγώνος); cf. *Ol.* 2.57 πειρώμενον ἀγωνίας, *Nem.* 11.23 ἐν Πυθῶνι πειρᾶσθαι καὶ Ὀλυμπία ἀέθλων. Submitting to the test of the games is the only way to prove one’s athletic prowess. For examples of the *πείρα* motif in Pindar and other Greek authors, see Pfeiffer (1999) 382-3.

**ἄγνωτοι σιωπαί** is a proleptic expression, i.e. ‘silence that causes smb./smth. to be unknown’. Cf. *Nem.* 7.61 σκοτεινὸν ... ψόγον, ‘blame that brings obscurity’, *Il.* 7.479 χλωρὸν δέος, ‘fear that makes one pale’; see further Lobeck (1835) 72-6; Schwyzer ii 181 n. 5.

**32. τέλος ἄκρον ικέσθαι :** cf. *Tyrt.* 12.43-4 ταύτης νῦν τις ἀνὴρ ἀρετῆς εἰς ἄκρον ικέσθαι | πειράσθω, *Sim.* 579.7 ἔκη τ’ ἐς ἄκρον ἀνδρείας. All of these passages are reminiscent of and perhaps modeled on *Hes. Op.* 290-2 μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν | καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ’ εἰς ἄκρον ἔκηται, | ῥηιδίῃ δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.

**33. διδοῖ :** for the thematic present of δίδωμι, see Schwyzer I 687-8.

**34-5. καὶ κρέσσον’ ἀνδρῶν χειρόνων | ἔσφαλε τέχνα καταμάρψαισ’ :** a general statement developing the sentiment of the preceding gnome. However, as we move on to the first mythic exemplum, the suicide of Aias, a more specific meaning is retrospectively activated: although his name is not explicitly mentioned, the weaker opponent relying on τέχνα is clearly Odysseus. According to Köhnken (1971) 109 n.

94 the passage may also allude to the wrestling bout between the two heroes in *Il.* 23.708-34.

**35. ἔσφαλε ... καταμάρψαισ' :** σφάλλω is a wrestling term (*Il.* 23.719, Theoc. 24.112), and so is also καταμάρπτω, although not mentioned by Poliakoff (1982): cf. *Nem.* 3.35 καὶ ποντίαν Θέτιν κατέμαρψεν (of Peleus' 'wrestling match' with Thetis).

**35-6.** The figure of Aias is familiar from a number of literary and iconographic sources. In the *Iliad*, Aias is the son of Telamon.<sup>20</sup> He came to Troy from Salamis with twelve ships (*Il.* 2.557) and was stationed at the eastern flank of the Greek camp (cf. *Il.* 8.222-6, 11.5-9). Equipped with an enormous shield, Aias proves to be particularly effective as a defensive warrior, at one point single-handedly resisting the Trojan attack on the Greek camp (*Il.* 15.415ff.). Accordingly, he is honored with the title ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν (*Il.* 3.229, 6.5, 7.211) and is described as being second to none but Achilles (*Il.* 2.768, 17.279, *Od.* 11.469). In Pindar, Aias is particularly prominent in his odes for the Aeginetans (i.e. *Nem.* 4, *Nem.* 7, *Nem.* 8, *Isth.* 5, *Isth.* 6). By the beginning of the fifth century BC, the islanders had successfully appropriated the Homeric hero as a member of the Aiakid family by turning his father Telamon, who conveniently happened to have no patronymic in the epic tradition, into the son of Aiakos and brother of Peleus.<sup>21</sup>

The contest for the arms of Achilles and Aias' consequent suicide are first mentioned in *Od.* 11.543-60, a passage which describes Odysseus' encounter with the ghost of Aias in the underworld.<sup>22</sup> The account of Odysseus is sparing with regard to

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<sup>20</sup> By Periboia, according to *Apol.* 3.12.7, *Σ Hom. Il.* 2.14, *Paus.* 1.42.4, *Xen. Cyn.* 1.9; by Eriboia, according to *Pind. Isth.* 6.45, *Soph. Ai.* 569, *Diod.* 4.72, *Σ Lycophr.* 454.

<sup>21</sup> For the stemma, see Appendix A (b). For political underpinnings of the Aeginetan interest in Telamon and Aias, see Burnett (2005) 23 n. 52. The *terminus ante quem* is provided by the pedimental statues of the new Aphaia temple constructed in 490s, shortly before the Persian Wars.

<sup>22</sup> While the contest for the arms of Achilles is not mentioned in the *Iliad*, it is tempting to assume that the stalemated wrestling match between Aias and Odysseus at *Il.* 23.700-37 foreshadows their future conflict.



the circumstances of the adjudication. All we learn is that the winner in the contest was determined by the Trojans and the goddess Athene (547 *παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη*), and that Aias' death was a direct consequence of the contest (548-9 *ὥς δὴ μὴ ὄφελον νικᾶν τοιῶδ' ἐπ' ἀέθλω· | τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ἔνεκ' αὐτῶν γαῖα κατέσχευ*). The scholion on *Od.* 11.547 identifies 'the children of the Trojans' as the prisoners of war, who served as a jury at Agamemnon's behest and implies that this version of the adjudication appeared in the *Aethiopis* of Arktinos.<sup>23</sup> Some scholars (e.g., Jebb (1893) xiv-xvi) have assumed that the *Odyssey* and the *Aethiopis* must represent a distinct strand of tradition, according to which Aias' suicide was motivated *only* by his 'resentment at the award—not that feeling combined with a sense of disgrace incurred by his' (Jebb (1896) xiv) madness and slaughter of the herds, as is the case in the *Little Iliad* of Lesches and in Sophocles (see below). However, the scholion does provide any information about the role played in the adjudication by the goddess. Although we can easily imagine Athene as presiding over the jury of the Trojan captives or somehow interfering with their decision, we cannot rule out the possibility that the scenario implied by *Od.* 11.547 is close to that of the *Little Iliad*. There, as opposed to the *Aethiopis*, the winner was determined by two Trojan girls, whose conversation was overheard by the Greek spies (*Σ Ar. Eq.* 1056a = Bernabé, *Ilias Parva*, fr. 2.). One girl argued that Aias is a better warrior than Odysseus because he retrieved the corpse of Achilles from the battlefield. The other, at the instigation of Athene (*τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἀντειπεῖν Ἀθηνᾶς προνοίᾳ*), gave the palm to Odysseus on the grounds that he secured the retrieval of the corpse, fighting off the attacking Trojans.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The line is athetized by Aristarchus on the grounds that it contains material from the Cycle. So far as we know, only two cyclic poems described the contest for the arms of Achilles: the *Aethiopis* and the *Little Iliad*. Since the adjudication in the *Little Iliad* did not involve Trojan captives (see below), the only plausible candidate is the *Aethiopis*.

<sup>24</sup> The Alexandrian scholars seem to have considered the possible connection between *Od.* 11.547 and the version of the *Little Iliad*. *Σ (H) Od.* 11.547 identifies the Trojans who decided the issue with those

Recently, it has been suggested that the variants of the adjudication which appeared in the cyclic poems are based on no independent tradition but are simply later attempts to interpret *Od.* 11.547.<sup>25</sup> Following the same logic, one might suggest that Aias' madness and his attack on the cattle are also later additions arising from the feeling that a mere loss in the contest is not sufficient a hero like Aias to commit suicide.

The relation of *Od.* 11.543-60 to the two cyclic versions, however, is further complicated by two factors: (a) in *Od.* 11.545 Odysseus seems to make a point of saying that he won the contest *δικαζόμενος*, i.e. 'pleading his claim', which implies that the contestants were not passively awaiting the decision of the jury but presented their claims in public, as seems to have been the case in Aeschylus' *Hoplōn Krisis* (fr. 175 Radt). (b) *Od.* 11.547 was suspected by Aristarchus to be an interpolation.<sup>26</sup> If *Od.* 11.547 is genuine, we have to consider two possibilities: (1) Odysseus and Aias were pleading their claims in front of the jury of the Trojans or possibly in front of the Greek army/chiefs who, unable to determine the matter by themselves, deferred the decision to their Trojan captives. In that case, the role played by Athene remains unclear, although again the assumption that the goddess could influence the decision of jury indirectly is an easy solution; (2) Odysseus and Aias were pleading their claims in front of the Greek army/chiefs who were unable to determine the matter and sent the spies to the walls of Troy to find out the opinion of the besieged Trojans.

However, if Aristarchus is right to condemn *Od.* 11.547 as an interpolation, either (1)

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killed by Odysseus while defending Aias' retreat with the body of Achilles (*οἱ φονευθέντες ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσεύως ὅτε Αἴας τὸ πτώμα Ἀχιλλεύως ἐβάσταζεν*).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Davies (2001) 62: 'Some poets (perhaps including the author of the Aethiopis) interpreted this paradoxical statement [i.e. *Od.* 11.547] to mean that the opinion of Trojan captives was sought ... But the version adopted by the poet of the Little Iliad ingeniously (and also perversely) placed a more literal interpretation on 'children' by having the two Trojan girls (with their implausible knowledge of and interest in military matters) decide the issue'.

<sup>26</sup> Σ (H) *Od.* 11.547 ἀθετεῖ Ἀρίσταρχος. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία ἐκ τῶν κυκλικῶν. As suggested by van der Valk (1949) 237-8, Aristarchus' decision here and in a few other places seems to be motivated by the assumption that, since the Cyclic poets were later than Homer, all passages that showed affinity to the stories of the Cycle had to be athetized. The principle is clearly flawed as it ignores the possibility that both Homer and the Cyclic poets could be drawing on a common source.

or (2) could be still implied, or else the contestants were pleading their claims in front of the jury of the Greek army/chiefs, who decided the matter by themselves, as is the case in Pindar (*Nem.* 8.21-32), Sophocles (*Ai.* 442-9, 1134-5, 1241-2), and some vase-paintings (*LIMC* s.v. Aias). According to Davies (2001) 57, '[t]his seems the simplest solution and may, therefore, be the oldest version' of the adjudication.

The most detailed treatment of the myth found in Sophocles' *Aias* echoes some of the details found in the *Little Iliad*: (a) Aias' madness and his attack on the herds and (b) the issue of burial after the suicide. The parallels, however, require qualification. First, whereas the madness in Sophocles is visited upon Aias by Athena, its origin in the *Little Iliad* is unclear. Second, in the *Little Iliad* Aias' body is denied cremation and is buried in a coffin on the orders of Agamemnon. In Sophocles, on the other hand, the Atreidai at first deny burial to Aias altogether, but the problem is eventually resolved through the intervention of Odysseus.

Considering Pindar's treatment of the myth against the background of this nexus of traditions, it is important to note that madness, slaughter of the cattle, and the problem of burial are all issues which Pindar resolutely refuses to mention. For him Aias is simply a paradigm of a noble martyr who falls victim to the blindness of the crowd. It seems unnecessary to assume that Pindar's silence demonstrates his ignorance of the tradition of Aias' madness, nor can we claim that it amounts to a polemic against it; we know that Pindar can be more vocal in expressing disagreement when he wants to do so. He may have wished to avoid the details which cast an unfavorable light on Aias either out of difference for his Aiginetan audience or simply because these details are irrelevant for his rhetorical purposes.

**35a-36a.** ἴστε μάν | ... | ... μομφὰν ἔχει : this may be construed in two ways: (a) 'surely you know the valor of Aias, which he pierced bloody on his sword late at night, and thereby casts blame on the sons of the Greeks who went to Troy'; (b)

‘surely you know the valor of Aias, which he pierced bloody on his sword late at night and holds it out as a reproach to the sons of the Greeks who went to Troy’. In other words, the relative pronoun can be taken as the object of the participle alone or of both the participle and the verb, in which case *μομφάν* becomes predicative. The latter, though clearly more picturesque, seems less attractive because the phrase *μομφήν/μέμψιν ἔχειν* is always used as a single unit, i.e. ‘to blame’ not ‘to have smth. as a blame’ (see examples in *Isth.* 4.36a-36b n.). Furthermore, the construction where the relative pronoun goes with the participle and not with the main verb is familiar in Pindar: *Nem.* 4.66-8 εἶδεν [i.e. Peleus] δ’ εὐκυκλον ἔδραν, | τὰς οὐρανοῦ βασιλῆες πόντου τ’ ἐφεζόμενοι | δῶρα καὶ κράτος ἐξέφαναν ἐγγενὲς αὐτῷ.

**35a-35b. ἴστε μάν | Αἴαντος ἀλκάν, φοίνιον τὰν κτλ. :** at first *ἄλκα* is understood as a warrior trait, but the relative clause invests the word with physical/corporeal connotations which it does not have elsewhere. If we punctuate after *φοίνιον*, the element of surprise is lost.

**35b-36a. ὀψία | ἐν νυκτί :** ‘in the later part of night’, i.e. at daybreak. The scholiast observes that this detail of the myth comes from the *Aithiopis* (Bernabé, fr. 5) (*Σ Isth.* 4.58b ὁ γὰρ τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γράφων περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον φησὶ τὸν Αἴαντα ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν). By contrast, in Sophocles Aias’ suicide takes place in broad daylight, after his assault on the herds the night before. The question is why Pindar chose to highlight this particular detail. Thummer compares *Ol.* 1.71-3 ἐγγὺς {δ’} ἐλθὼν πολιᾶς ἀλὸς οἶος ἐν ὄρφνῃ | ἄπυεν βαρύκτυπον | *Εὐτρίαιναν*, *Ol.* 6.58-61 Ἀλφεῶ μέσσω καταβαῖς ἐκάλεσσε Ποσειδᾶν’ εὐρυβίαν | ... | ... | νυκτὸς ὑπαίθριος, and *Isth.* 7.5 χρυσῷ μεσονύκτιον | νείφοντα δεξαμένα (i.e. Alkmene) τὸν φέρτατον θεῶν, arguing that it is characteristic of Pindar to surround great events with a veil of mystery (cf. also Gerber *Ol.* 1.71 n.: ‘night is often the time when matters of great importance take place, for example Ajax commits suicide ὀψία | ἐν νυκτί’). This is both too general and not

completely accurate. After all, what is so mysterious about Aias' suicide? Each case must be judged on its own terms. In the first two instances, as pointed out by Verdenius (*Ol.* 1.71 n.), the night provides an ideal setting for a personal encounter with god by enhancing the atmosphere of solitude and isolation. *Isth.* 7.5, however, is different; although *μεσονύκτιον* underscores the intimate nature of the encounter between Zeus and Alkmene, it also provides a contrast with the radiance of the golden snow shower (cf. *Ol.* 1.1-2). Solitude may well be one of the reasons why Pindar mentions that Aias committed suicide just before dawn; as we know, an epic hero would normally withdraw from the company of others when his honor is compromised. However, it must be also noted that night is traditionally an ideal time for an act of violence: e.g., fr. 169a. 19 *ν]ν κ τ ἰ βίας ὁδόν* (of Herakles bursting into the house of Diomedes). Compare also the intention of Sophocles' Aias to murder the Greek leaders *ἄκρας νυκτός* (285), 'the best time for a sudden attack' (Stanford, *ad loc.*).

**36a. ταμῶν περὶ ᾧ φασγάνῳ :** note the graphically vivid *περί*, which describes the condition of Aias' body after it was transfixd by the sword. Cf. *Nem.* 8.23 *κεῖνος* [i.e. *φθόνος*] *καὶ Τελαμῶνος δάψεν υἷόν, φασγάνῳ ἀμφικυλίσαις* (either 'rolling him on his sword, so that the body was enveloping it' or 'so that the sword was sticking out on both sides'), *Soph. Ai.* 825-8 *πρῶτος ὥς με βαστάσῃ | πεπτῶτα τῶιδε περὶ νεορράντῳ ξίφει*. For similarly graphic depictions of Aias' suicide on vases, see figures 2, 3, 4.

**36a-36b. μομφὴν ἔχει | παίδεσσιν Ἑλλάνων :** the scholia give two alternatives: (a) 'he blames the Greeks' (*Σ Isth.* 4.58e *ἵστε Αἴαντα, ὃς μέγας ὢν ὄνειδος τοῖς Ἑλλησι περιποίησε τὴν κακοκρίσιαν αὐτῶν φανεράν ποιήσας, ἐπεὶ προσεχαρίσαντο τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ*), and (b) 'he incurs the blame of the Greeks' (*Σ Isth.* 4.58f *ἣν ἐν ὀψίᾳ περὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ξίφει διατεμὼν καὶ διαφθείρας οὐκ ὀλίγην μέμψιν ἔχει ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων παισὶ*

τοῖς ἐν Τροίᾳ διαβεβηκόσιν). The first is the majority view and garners strong support from Aesch. *Prom.* 445 μέμψιν οὐτιν' ἀνθρώποις ἔχων, Soph. *Ai.* 180 ἢ χαλκοθώραξ σοί τιν' Ἐννάλιος | μομφὰν ἔχων, Eur. *Or.* 1069 ἐν μὲν πρῶτά μομφὴν ἔχω, *Phoen.* 773 ὥστε μοι μομφὰς ἔχειν, Ar. *Pax* 664 Ἀκούσαθ', ὑμεῖς, ὧν ἔνεκα μομφὴν ἔχει. The second is espoused by Mezger (1880), Fraccaroli (1894), Wilamowitz (1922) 338, and considered a feasible alternative by Race (1990). Although in principle ἔχειν μομφὰν can interpreted as passive (cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 974 πολλὴν ἄρ' ἔξεῖς μέμψιν, εἰ δρᾶσεις τόδε, Soph. *Ant.* 1312 ὡς αἰτίαν γε τῶνδε κακείνων ἔχων), the claim that it 'kann allein den Sinn haben, μέμφονται αὐτῷ οἱ Ἕλληνες' (Wilamowitz (1922) 338 n. 3) is not supported by a single example where the dative is equivalent to πρὸς + gen. Bergk's μομφὰν ἔχ' ἐν | παίδεσσιν ex Σ (adopted by Mezger and Christ) is also implausible since the passive meaning is manifestly inferior in the context. Why would the Greeks blame Aias and for what? The only options are his suicide and the slaughter of the cattle. Yet to suppose that Aias' suicide could be considered blameworthy on moral grounds involves an anachronism; such attitude to suicide is unknown before Plato (cf. *Phaed.* 61 c, *Leg.* 9. 873 c); see Stanford (1979) 290. Nor can they blame him for his attack on the cattle because Pindar does not mention the episode. The most natural interpretation is that Aias blames the Greeks for awarding the prize to Odysseus.

**36a. μομφὰν ἔχει :** the present tense is possibly a nod to *Od.* 11.543-60, where even in Hades Aias is still resentful about the outcome of the contest.

**36b. παίδεσσιν Ἑλλάνων :** 'the children of the Greeks', i.e. 'Greeks', a poetic periphrasis modeled on the epic formulae νῆες Ἀχαιῶν (e.g., *Il.* 1.162) and κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν (*Il.* 1.473); see K-G i 281. Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 402 παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, Eur. *Supp.* 1213 παισὶ δ' Ἀργείων, Hdt. 1.27 οἱ Λυδῶν παῖδες, 3.21 Αἰθιοπῶν παισί, 5.49 Ἰώνων παῖδας. On the Semitic origins of the expression and its later extension to the field of professional affiliations, see West (1997) 226.

37-8. ἀλλ' Ὅμηρός τοι τετίμακεν δι' ἀνθρώπων, ὃς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν

δρῶσαις ἀρετάν : although Aias lost in the contest for the arms of Achilles, in the long run he has prevailed by receiving poetic immortality in the works of Homer. But what are these works? Aias is prominent in the *Iliad* as a staunch defender of the Greek camp. He also appears once in the *Odyssey* but there is nothing in that episode to justify τετίμακεν. Scholars generally assume that there was a great mass of epic material circulating in Pindar's time under the name of Homer, and so we are not necessarily restricted to the poet(s) of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Given that in *Isth.* 4 Pindar borrowed the detail of Aias' suicide taking place just before dawn from the *Aethiopis* of Arktinos (see *Isth.* 4.35b-36a n.), some scholars (e.g., Bergk (1878) 338, Bury *ad loc.*, Murray (1960) 298, Fitch (1924) 58-9) assumed that Ὅμηρός in line 37 must refer to Arktinos as well. This interpretation, however, does not take full account of the fact that Homer's treatment of Aias stands in antithesis (ἀλλά) to the narrative introduced by ἔσται μάν in line 35. The contrast then is most likely between the treatment of Aias in the *Aethiopis* and in Homer, the poet of the *Iliad*, who, unlike the cyclic poets, has never given any occasion to doubt the greatness of Aias. For a full discussion of this passage, see Nisetich (1989) 9-14.

The praise of Homer in *Isth.* 4 contrasts with the antipathy toward him in *Nem.* 7, where he is criticized for having exaggerated the ordeal of Odysseus. The difference is best explained in terms of occasional pressures: *Nem.* 7 is addressed to the Aeginetans, who must have resented any treatment that minimized the glory of Aias and magnified that of his bitter rival, Odysseus; *Isth.* 4, on the other hand, is addressed to the Thebans, for whom Homer's treatment of Aias was not a problematic issue at all. See further, Nisetich (1989) 15-23. For a similar fluctuation in Pindar's attitude toward poetic authority, compare his references to Archilochus *Pyth.* 2.54-6 (negative) and in *Ol.* 9.1-4 (positive).

**37. τετίμακεν :** according to Chantraine (1927) and Wackernagel (1969), this is the earliest attestation of the so called resultative perfect (see K-G i 148-9, Schwyzler ii 263-4). Homer has honored Aias in the *Iliad* and the result of this act continues to be felt in the present.

**38. ὀρθώσας :** the participle picks up the combat sport imagery of line 35 (ἔσφαλε): cf. Hom. 23.694-5 αὐτὰρ μεγάθυμος Ἐπειὸς | χερσὶ λαβὼν ὄρθωσε (of a boxer helping his knocked out opponent to his feet). For parallelism of the two verbs, cf. Soph. *El.* 415-6 πολλά τοι σμικροὶ λόγοι | ἔσφηλαν ἤδη καὶ κατ'ὄρθωσαν βροτοῦς and Finglass' note *ad loc.*

**38-9. κατὰ ῥάβδον | ... θεσπεσίων ἐπέων :** the expression has not been adequately explained. The most likely interpretation seems to be that of Dissen, who translates '*auctoritate epicorum carminum*', giving examples of ῥάβδος as regalia of office (cf. LSJ I 5 s.v.), which is more or less closely followed by Jebb (1907) 63: 'by the wand of his lays divine'. The preposition in this case denotes conformity.

Other possibilities seem less compelling. (a) κατὰ ῥάβδον = κατὰ ῥαψωδίαν (*Σ Isth.* 4.63d), with κατὰ denoting manner. The major problem is that there are no other examples of ῥάβδος used as a substitute for ῥαψωδία. (b) κατὰ ῥάβδον = κατὰ στίχον (*Σ Isth.* 4.63d, cf. also *Σ Nem.* 2.1d Μέναιχμος δὲ (presumably the author of *Sikyonika*) ἱστορεῖ τοὺς ῥαψωδοὺς στιχωδοὺς καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς στίχους ῥάβδους λέγεσθαι ὑπότινων), 'declared according to the measure of epic verse'. However, the word is not attested in this sense elsewhere. (c) Wüst (1967), following Wilamowitz (1920) 339 n., argues that ῥάβδος here is a deverbative of ῥάπτειν, i.e. 'stitch' (cf. LSJ I 10 s.v.), and translates: 'gemäss der Naht göttlicher Worte'.

**40. ἔρπει :** not 'crawls' but 'moves', as always the case in Homer: cf. Létoublon (1985) 110-13.



**41-2. ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ διὰ πόντον βέβακεν | ἐργμάτων ἀκτὺς καλῶν**

**ἄσβεστος αἰεὶ** : enhanced by poetry the glory of great deeds knows neither temporal nor spatial limits. Arguably the most famous and elaborate expression of this motif in Greek poetry is Thgn. 237-54, where the poet claims to have given Kynos wings σὺν οἷς' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον | πωτήσῃ, κατὰ γῆν πάσαν ἀειρόμενος | ῥηϊδίως (237-8). The closest parallel in epinician poetry is Bacch. 5.175-81 οὐ γὰρ ἀλαμπέϊ νυκ[τὸς] | πασιφανῆς Ἄρετ[ά] κρυφθεῖσ' ἀμαυρο[ῦται ...] | ἀλλ' ἔμπεδον ἀκ[αμάτα] βρύουσα δόξα | στρωφᾶται κατὰ γᾶν [τε] | καὶ πολύπλαγκτον θ[άλασσαν], where the notions of duration and geographic dissemination are similarly combined.

**41. ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ διὰ πόντον** : this type of polar expression ('land and sea') is common from Homer onward: cf. Kemmer (1903) 160. For examples in Pindar, cf. *Pyth.* 1.14, *Nem.* 1.63, *Nem.* 9.43, fr. 51a.

**43-4. κεῖνον ἄψαι πυρσὸν ὕμνων | καὶ Μελίσσῳ** : the metaphor of a ray of poetry illuminating the great deeds modulates into the metaphor of a torch of songs, a transformation which seems to be prompted by *ἄσβεστος* in the previous line. The connection between poetry and torch imagery could be suggested by the torches carried by the komasts celebrating the victory. This kind of synaesthetic connection between light and the transfiguring power of song is common in Pindar, Bacchylides, and elsewhere: cf. e.g. *Pyth.* 5.45 σὲ δ' ἡὔκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες, *Nem.* 6.37-8 παρὰ Κασταλίαν τε Χαρίτων | ἐσπέριος ὁμάδωι φλέγεν, *Isth.* 7.23 φλέγεται δὲ ἰοπλόκοισι Μοίσαις, Bacch. fr. 22+4.80 παιδικοί θ' ὕμνοι φλέγονται, Ariphron's hymn to Ὑγίεια (Käppel 34.8) μετὰ σεῖο, μάκαιρ' Ὑγίεια, | τέθαλε καὶ λάμπει Χαρίτων ὀάροις. For more examples, see Diggle (1994) 12.

**κεῖνον** : 'that', i.e. 'the one I have just described', referring back to lines 41-2.

**43. ἄψαι πυρσὸν ὕμνων** finds a tautometric echo in *Pyth.* 4.3 αὔξης οὐρον ὕμνων

(---u--). For a metrical variant of the phrase, cf. fr. 354 (Snell-Maehler) ἀνοίξαι πῖθον ὕμνων (u--uu--).

**45. ἔρνεϊ :** the use of vegetational metaphors for children is very common in Greek poetry: cf. e.g. βλάστημα, θάλος, ὄζος, φύτον (LSJ s.vv.). See further Gow's discussion of Theoc. 7.44.

**45-55.** The statement of the epinician program modulates into a series of observations about Melissos' athletic prowess, which are then validated by a mythical exemplum, the wrestling match of Herakles with the giant Antaios. Two details are likely to arrest the reader's attention here: (i) The simile comparing Melissos' courage (45 τόλμα) with that of a lion and his skill (47 μῆτιν) with that of a fox leads to the gnome justifying the use of all means necessary to destroy one's enemy (48 τὸν ἐχθρόν). The gnome is followed by the explanatory remark to the effect that, although the victor is no Orion in terms of his physique and is 'contemptible to look at' (50 ὀνοτὸς μὲν ἰδέσθαι), he is a formidable opponent to face in combat. Many critics have found this negative reference to Melissos' physical appearance puzzling. How is it possible to reconcile such an uncomplimentary remark with the overall encomiastic intent of the ode? (ii) Far more striking, however, is the fact that Melissos' mythical analogue, Herakles, is said to be short in stature (53a μορφὰν βραχύς). This description is patently at odds with the views widely current in antiquity: e.g., Apol. *Bibl.* 2.4.9 (six feet), Herodorus *FGrH* 31 F 19 = Σ Pind. *Isth.* 4.87a (seven feet), Hdt. 4.82 (a huge footprint of Herakles by the river Dnestr), Gel. 1.1 (of Pythagoras' calculations reported by Plutarch) *tanto fuisse Herculem corpore excelsiorem quam alios, quanto Olympicum stadium ceteris pari numero factis anteiret*. What is it then? a vestige of some unknown tradition or rather Pindar's own *ad hoc* attempt to meet the needs of a particular encomiastic situation?

(i) The animal similes expand on *παγκρατίου* (44) by attributing to Melissos the qualities most valued in a pankratiast: courage of a lion (offensive skills) and skills of a fox (defensive skills). In a sense, the similes constitute a universalizing doublet asserting that Melissos is a well-rounded fighter. They are capped by the gnome which at first sight appears to be little more than the sum-total of the pankration (48 *χρῆ δὲ πᾶν ἔρδοντ' ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν*). However, the epode starts with the explanatory remark (49 *οὐ γὰρ κτλ.*) which leads the audience to rethink the purport of the gnome. It is no longer simply a gloss on *παγκρατίου* but rather a justification of Melissos' recourse to defensive fox-like tactics. The gnome, therefore, functions as a pivot and can be interpreted in two different ways, depending on whether it is taken with what precedes or what follows. We are told that Melissos does not possess an impressive stature, but that he is a first-class pankratiast all the same. Philostratus (*Her.* 14-5) relates a very instructive anecdote about the Cilician pankratiast nicknamed Ἀλτήρ, who, despite his small size, was a very gifted athlete: *περιῆν μὲν καὶ ἐπιστήμης* (= *Isth.* 4.47 *μῆτιν*), *περιῆν δὲ καὶ θυμοῦ* (= *Isth.* 4.45 *τόλμα*). On consulting the hero Protesilaos as to how he might win the competition, he received the following answer: *πατούμενος* ('by being trampled on'). This prompted Ἀλτήρ to utilize a defensive stance similar to what is suggested by *αἰετοῦ ἄ τ' ἀναπιτναμένα ῥόμβον ἴσχει* (see *Isth.* 4.47 n. below).

The reference to Melissos' appearance is usually considered against the backdrop of the epinician *topos* of 'looks and deeds' (cf. *Ol.* 8.19 *ῆν δ' ἐσορᾶν καλός, ἔργω τ' οὐ κατὰ εἶδος ἐλέγχων* | *ἐξένεπε κρατέων*, *Ol.* 9.65-6 *ὑπέρφρατον ἄνδρα μορφᾷ τε καί* | *ἔργοισι*, 94, *Ol.* 10.100-5 *τὸν εἶδον κρατέοντα χερὸς ἀλκᾷ* | ... | ... | *ἰδέα τε καλόν* | *ὥρα τε κεκραμένον*, *Nem.* 3.19 *ἔων καλὸς ἔρδων τ' ἐοικότα μορφᾷ*, *Nem.* 11.13-4 *εἰ δέ τις ὄλβον ἔχων μορφᾷ παραμεύσεται ἄλλους*, | *ἐν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων*

ἐπέδειξεν βίαν, *Isth.* 7.22 σθένει τ' ἑκπαγλος ἰδεῖν τε μορφάεις),<sup>27</sup> the underlying assumption being that ὀνοτός ἰδέσθαι must be the exact opposite of beauty. From this point of view, the meaning of the remark is that Melissos' ugliness belies his real worth. Two variants of this approach have been put forward recently. Thus, Pfeijffer (1999) 284 claims that '[w]hat a man looked like was regarded as a reliable index of his total worth' and suggests that the reference is to Melissos' shortness, a sensible inference given the description of Herakles in the exemplum (53a μορφὰν βραχύς). He also adds that 'being short and being ugly is one and the same thing for a Greek'. This idea is further developed by Boeke (2007) 111-30, who argues that the ugliness of the victor is implied by the negative comparison with Orion, who, apart from his magnificent stature, was also extremely handsome (cf. *Od.* 11.572-3 οὖς [i.e. Otos and Ephialtes] δὴ μηκίστους θρέψε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα | καὶ πολὺ καλλίστους μετὰ γε κλυτὸν Ὠρίωνα). She goes so far as to suggest that, given Orion's reputation as a prodigious lover, '[t]here may even be a hint at lack of sexual prowess' (119 n. 54). Both Pfeijffer and Boeke maintain that by praising the victor who is ugly the poet challenges the traditional aristocratic ideal of male beauty and subverts the epinician *topos* of 'looks and deeds'.

This approach, however, is open to criticism. First, there is no reason why we should take the *topos* of 'looks and deeds' at face value. When Pindar describes a victor in the combat event as beautiful, he simply makes a conventional gesture, which has nothing to do with what the athlete looked like in reality.<sup>28</sup> Second, although Pindar's audience may indeed be expected to correlate between height and beauty/virtue (cf. *Ar. Ran.* 1014, *Vesp.* 554, *Arist. Nic. Eth.* 1123b7, *Poet.* 1450b37), it is impossible to maintain that such correlation would obtain by default, without any

<sup>27</sup> For this term, see Young (1971) 18. See also discussion in Race (1990) 188-91.

<sup>28</sup> Compare a similar idealization in the case of the war dead. It was a convention to describe warriors fallen in battle as young, regardless of their actual age. See Currie (2005) 209-10.

regard for the context.<sup>29</sup> Following Pfeijffer's reasoning, one will have to conclude that the whole point of *Il.* 8.501 *Τυδεύς τοι μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητῆς* is that Tydeus is ugly, a conclusion which is not justified by the context. The reference to Tydeus' small stature highlights his warrior spirit and adds luster to his athletic victories at Thebes (802-8). To say that a pankratiast does not strike an impressive figure may be blunt and uncomplimentary, but to say that he is a formidable opponent despite considerable disadvantage in size (weight, height etc.) is to enhance the significance of his achievement, the more so because Greek combat sports were dominated by bigger athletes (cf. Poliakoff (1987) 8, *pace* Krummen below).

Similar objection can be made against Boeke's argument because she seems to divorce the negative comparison between the victor and the giant from its immediate context. As already mentioned, the words *οὐ γὰρ φύσιν Ὠαριωνείαν ἔλαχεν· | ἀλλ' ὄνοτος μὲν ἰδέσθαι* are an integral part in the progressive description of Melissos as a pankratiast and are meant to (a) give reasons for Melissos' choice of the fox tactics in combat and (b) to add force to *συμπεσεῖν δ' ἀκμῇ βαρύς*. The beauty of Orion is irrelevant here, and so is his sexual prowess. More relevant, I believe, are Orion's Boiotian associations, his constant failures against his foes, and his hybris (see *Isth.* 4.49 n. on *Ὠαριωνείαν*). The negative comparison with the giant is thus covertly complimentary and serves not only as a foil for Melissos' actual performance in the ring but also sets the stage for a more appropriate comparison of the victor with another Boiotian hero, Herakles.

Other scholars have suggested that the description of Melissos involves humor (cf. Kurz (1974) 8, Schmitz (1994) 213), or even 'a private joke between poet and victor, whom he no doubt knew personally' (Willcock, *Isth.* 4.49-51 n.). The

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. Philost. *Her.* 15 quoted above, where a small athlete is said to be strong because of the 'harmony of his body' (*ἡ εὐαρμοστία τοῦ σώματος*).

suggestion, however, is fraught with a number of difficulties. First, the argument is based (at least partly) on the premise that ἀλλ' ὄνοτος μὲν ἰδέσθαι must be in some way derogatory, which, as we have seen, is not necessarily the case. There is nothing particularly humorous about this expression, although a vague hint at what Melissos' initial reception at the Isthmos might have been like can be reasonably assumed. Ancient combat disciplines had no weight divisions, and it should come as no surprise that a lighter pankratiast, probably still unfamiliar to the Panhellenic audience, would get his share of boos. Race (1990) 191 n. 6 rightly draws our attention to *Od.* 8.236-40 ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀχάριστα μεθ' ἡμῖν ταυτ' ἀγορεύεις, | ἀλλ' ἐθέλεις ἀρετὴν σὴν φαινέμεν, ἣ τοι ὀπηδεῖ, | χωόμενος, ὅτι σ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἐν ἀγῶνι παραστὰς | νείκεσεν, ὥς ἂν σὴν ἀρετὴν βροτὸς οὗ τις ὄνοιτο, | ὅς τις ἐπίσταιτο ἥσι φρεσὶν ἄρτια βάζειν (the passage refers to the taunt of Euryalos, who has questioned Odysseus' athleticism on the basis of outward appearance). Finally, Willcock's suggestion, though certainly interesting, is an explanation of *ignotum per ignotius*. It seems unlikely (though perhaps not entirely inconceivable) that Pindar would have predicated arguably the most important section of the poem on an inside joke which was bound to remain impenetrable to secondary and tertiary audiences.

In her discussion of the passage, Krummen (1990) 91 argues that the negative comparison with Orion should be understood as a straightforward praise of the victor because Melissos' bodily frame was ideally suited for pankration: 'Im Pankration zählen, 'Kleinheit', 'Wendigkeit'' (it must be noted, however, that she takes lines 50-1 ἀλλ' ὄνοτος μὲν ἰδέσθαι, | συμπεσεῖν δ' ἀκμῇ βαρύς as a reference to Herakles; see *Isth.* 4.50-51 n.). Yet this argument is not supported by any evidence whatsoever. In fact, Philost. *Gymn.* 36, describing the type of athletes called ἐν μικρῷ μεγάλοι ('pocket Herakleses'), explicitly contradicts Krummen's interpretation: κηρύττει δὲ αὐτοὺς πάλῃ μάλλον, εὐστροφοί τε γὰρ καὶ πολύτροποι καὶ σφοδροὶ καὶ κοῦφοι καὶ ταχεῖς καὶ

ὁμότονοι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀπόρων τε καὶ δυσπαλαίστων διαφεύγουσιν ἐπιστηριζόμενοι τῇ κεφαλῇ, καθάπερ βάσει, παγκρατίου δὲ καὶ πυγμῆς οὐκ ἀγαθοὶ προστάται, τῷ τε πλήττοντι ὑποκείμενοι καὶ γελοίως ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαίροντες, ὅποτε αὐτοὶ πλήττοιεν.

(ii) Unlike the ‘unflattering’ remark about Melissos’ appearance, the problem posed by (53) *μορφὰν βραχύς* defies solution. Most modern scholars follow the scholiast who suggests that Herakles is small only by comparison with the giant (*Σ Isth. 4.87a βραχὺν δὲ εἶπεν αὐτὸν οὐ μάτην, ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τινες σύμμετρον αὐτὸν εἶναί φασι τῷ σώματι*). This can be supported by the evidence of vase paintings, where Herakles is always depicted as being considerably smaller than Antaios: cf. Zuntz (1958) 411 = (1972) 14; see figure 5. However, if this is what Pindar meant, he did not bother to make himself clear because, as it is pointed out by Bowra (1964), ‘the words are not relative but absolute’ (48). This might suggest that Pindar deliberately belittles the hero in order to make a complimentary connection with the victor. This would certainly be a bold innovation, so bold in fact as to make the whole idea implausible.

A few other explanations have been advanced but without any significant impact: Farnell sees a connection with Herakles, the Idaian Daktyl (cf. Paus. 9.27.8); Hemberg (1950) 290-92 with the Kabiri; Krummen (1990) 94-97 follows her dissertation advisor, Burkert, in assuming the contamination of the tradition of Herakles with that of the Egyptian god Bes. It is likewise possible that the short stature attributed to Herakles by Pindar must be considered in the light of the local Theban tradition of depicting Herakles as an infant or beardless youth. As suggested by Schachter (1986) 16, in Thebes Herakles may have inherited youth as his defining characteristic from the earlier local hero whose cult he displaced. If the Thebans really thought that Herakles fought Antaios while still in his teens (or even younger), *μορφὰν*

βραχύς (53a) would be a suitable description. This explanation, however, is at odds with ἀνήρ (53b).

**45-7.** The dative τόλμα depends on εἰκώς and is balanced by the accusative of respect μῆτιν: lit. ‘in respect to his heart (θυμόν), he is like the courage of loud-roaring, wild lions when he fights (ἐν πόνῳ), but in skill (μῆτιν) he is a fox’. The syntax does not bear out the parallelism of thought, and this has caused confusion. Some scholars tried to resolve the problem by means of textual emendation (Gerber (1976) 133-4). However, such a radical approach seems unnecessary because the passage is a typical example of the famous Pindaric *inconcinnitas* or deliberate avoidance of syntactic symmetry in communicating parallel ideas. As suggested by Dornseiff (1921) 103-9, this element of Pindaric style might be a way of compensating for the monotony of recurring metrical units. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* 22 οὔτε πάρισα βούλεται τὰ κῶλα ἀλλήλοις εἶναι οὔτε παρόμοια οὔτε ἀνάγκη δουλεύοντα, ἀκόλουθα δὲ καὶ εὐγενῆ καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐλεύθερα· φύσει τ’ εἰκέναι μᾶλλον αὐτὰ βούλεται ἢ τέχνη, καὶ κατὰ πάθος λέγεται μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ἥθος), it is a deliberate attempt to mimic the lack of balance characteristic of natural, unstudied speech and is a central feature of αὐστηρὰ ἀρμονία, prominent in the style of Antimachus of Colophon, Empedocles, Aeschylus, Antiphon, and Thucydides. For further examples of Pindaric *inconcinnitas*, see Dornseiff (*ibid.*) and Poultney (1987) 1-8. For the ‘austere style’ of Pindar and Thucydides, see more recently Hornblower (2004) 354-72.

**46-7. λεόντων | ... ἀλώπηξ κτλ. :** in Greek poetry, animals are often used as paradigms for various ethical and psychological qualities (e.g., Archil. 185 W, Sem. 7 W, Pind. *Pyth.* 2.72, 2.84; more generally on animals in Greek proverbs, see Houghton (1915)). As pointed out by Lloyd (1992) 184, who draws on Snell (1948) 201, ‘the Greeks held that animals not only symbolised certain characteristics, but *permanently*



*manifested* them'. One of the best examples in Pindar is the concluding gnome of *Ol.* 11, where a reference to the lion and the fox illustrate the natural courage and intelligence of the Epizephyrian Lokroi (19-20 τὸ γὰρ ἐμφυῆς οὗτ' αἰθων ἀλώπηξ | οὗτ' ἐρίβρομοι λέοντες διαλλάξαιτο ἦθος). The similarity of animal imagery in *Ol.* 11.19-20 and *Isth.* 4.46-7 has made both passages liable to similar misconceptions. First, there is no need to assume that in either passage the lion and the fox embody the contrast between natural ability and acquired skills: cf. Bundy (1962) i 29-32 corrected by Race (2004) 93. Both courage (τόλμα) and intelligence (μῆτις, a prerequisite for acquiring τέχνη) are inborn qualities (cf. *Ol.* 9.28-9 ἀγαθοὶ ('brave') δὲ καὶ σοφοὶ ('clever') κατὰ δαίμον' ἄνδρες | ἐγένοντ'). Second, if we accept that τόλμα and μῆτις are complementary and not competing characteristics, in neither passage does the fox-like intelligence have to be treated as a source of opprobrium. Although the summarizing gnome in *Isth.* 4.48 χρὴ δὲ πᾶν ἔρδοντ' ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν forms a transition toward the explanation of why Melissos had to resort to a certain game-plan in order to win the contest (for the pivotal function of the gnome, see *Isth.* 4.44-55 n.), it clearly does not suggest the use of illicit techniques (see *Isth.* 4.47 n.).

**46. θηρῶν λεόντων :** cf. Eur. *Her.* 465 θηρὸς ... λέοντος, Epimenides fr. 2 D-K θῆρα λέοντα. The first noun is better translated as an adjective. It indicates the genus, while the second noun indicates the species. The order is sometimes reversed. This kind of appositional construction is fairly common in Greek poetry beginning with Homer (e.g., *Il.* 2.480 βοῦς ... ταῦρος, *Od.* 13.87 ἵρηξ ... κίρκος). For a list of scholarly discussions, see Diggle (1994) 365 n. 4.

**47. αἰετοῦ ἄτ' ἀναπιτναμένα ῥόμβον ἰσχει :** although essentially an amalgam of boxing and wrestling, the pankration involved a fair amount of ground grappling, which was known in Greek under several names: e.g., κύλισις, κυλίνδησις, ἀλίνδησις, τὸ κάτω παγκράτιον (Poliakoff (1982) 18 n. 44). The reference here is to the

tactics known as ὑπτιασμός, in using which ‘one competitor would deliberately throw himself on the ground’ (Poliakoff (1982) 11). Many scholars (e.g., Thummer, Privitera) follow Gardiner (1910) 443-4, who compares Dio Cass. 71.7 (Roman hand-to-hand combat with the Iazyges: ἀλλ’ εἴθ’ ὑπτιός τις αὐτῶν ἔπεσε, συνεφείλκετο τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐς τοῦπίσω ἀνερρίπτει ὥσπερ ἐν πάλῃ, καὶ οὕτως ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο), suggesting that the reference here is to the ‘stomach throw’: ‘[a] wrestler seizes his opponent by the shoulders or arms and throws himself backward, at the same time planting his foot on the other’s stomach and thus throwing him heavily clean over his head, while he himself falls lightly’. However, this seems questionable because in the pankration, unlike in wrestling, there were no points to be scored for simply dropping one’s opponent on the ground. The bout would go on until one of the competitors admits his loss or else is physically unable to continue. A heavy drop might hurt, but in most cases it would not prevent the pankratist from continuing the bout. Willcock is, then, rightly skeptical but offers no alternative.

The scholion on the passage, however, seems to provide a very sensible explanation of the technique (*Σ Isth.* 4.77c-81): *ἔοικε δὲ διδάσκειν αὐτοῦ τὸ πάλαισμα, ὥς χαμαὶ κειμένου καὶ τὸν μείζονα τέχνη νενικηκότος. καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀλώπηξ ὑπτία τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμύνεται, τὰ μὲν συλλαμβανομένη, τὰ δὲ ἀμύσσουσα [...] κυλιστικὸς* (‘skilled ground grappler’) *ἣν ὁ Μέλισσος, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐξυπτιάσας περιεγένητο.* This description suggests that a pankratiast would lie on his back (ὑπτία) and defend himself against the strikes of the opponent (τὰ δὲ ἀμύσσουσα), trying to tie up his arms, legs or head (τὰ μὲν συλλαμβανομένη) presumably in an attempt to pull off a submission by means of a joint-lock or a choke. In modern grappling, this position is commonly known as ‘guard’. Since normally the pankratiasts would start the bout on their feet trading blows at arm’s length (ἀκροχειρία), it would be in the best interest of the lighter athlete

to take the fight to the ground as soon as possible in order to neutralize the striking power of the heavier opponent.

**ἄ τ'** : for the explicative force of the generic relative, see Des Places (1947) 55-7. For the postponement of relative pronouns in Pindar, see Gerber, *Ol.* 1.12 n., who suggests that its main purpose is to emphasize the word which precedes the relative pronoun, whereas Braswell, *Pyth.* 4.246 n.(b) argues that the emphasis is only a by-product, the main factor being metrical convenience.

**49. φύσιν** : ‘appearance’. For this meaning of the word, cf. Holwerda (1955) 62-5.

**Ἵαριωνεῖαν** : Orion is a mythical giant and hunter hailing from Hyria, in the region of Tanagra (cf. Pind. fr. 73 = Str. 9. 2. 12). According to the Boiotian version of the myth, Orion was born from the ox-hide which had been soaked with the urine of Zeus, Poseidon, and Hermes (according to the popular etymology, Ἵαριων = Οὐρίων). One of the central episodes of the Orion myth is his sojourn on Keos, where he attempted to rape the daughter (or wife; cf. Pind. fr. 72 and van der Weiden (1991) 176-7) of his host, Oenopion, who however managed to blind and expel his unruly guest. Pindar handled the story of Orion at length in a dithyramb of which now only three small fragments survive (fr. 72-4). It is possible, then, that in the context of our poem the name of Orion is suggestive not only of gigantic stature but also of hybriatic behavior, which serves as a foil for the qualities of Melissos. On the rhetorical function of this negative comparison, see *Isth.* 4.45-55 n. above.

For the distribution of the metrically alternative forms Ἵαρι- and Ἵαρι-, see West, *Op.* 598 n., van der Weiden (1991) 178, Lavecchia (2000) 277.

**51. συμπεσεῖν** : ‘to fall in with’. For the use of the compound in the context of combat sports, cf. *Il.* 23.687 (of boxers) ἄντα δ' ἀνασχομένω χερσὶ στιβαρῆισιν ἄμ' ἄμφω | σὺν ῥ' ἔπασσον.

ἀκμῆ is Pauw's correction of αἰχμῆ transmitted by the MSS. The same confusion appears in *Nem.* 6.52 φαεινᾶς υἱὸν εἶτ' ἐνάριξεν Ἀόος ἀκμῆ and *Nem.* 10.60 ἔτρωσεν χαλκέας λόγχας ἀκμῆ (Pauw : αἰχμᾶι *codd.*). In both cases, however, the emendation is also justified on metrical grounds.

**52-5.** The analogy between the victor and Herakles could not be more explicit: both are Theban, both travel to a sanctuary of Poseidon to engage in combat, and both square off against physically superior opponents.

Pindar (*Isth.* 4.42-5 and fr. 100 Snell-Maehler) is our earliest literary source for the story of Herakles' fight with Antaios. In its basic outline the story resembles Herakles' encounters with Kyknos, Lityerses, and Syleus, all of which are concerned with punishment for outrageous behavior toward guests and travelers, a feature which makes the contrast between Orion, a guest who has little respect for the rules of *xenia*, and Melissos all the more pointed (cf. *Isth.* 4.8).

The son of Poseidon and Ge, Antaios used the heads of his victims as a building material or adornment for the temple of his father. According to the most common version of the story, found in Apollodorus 2.115 and ubiquitous in Latin poetry (e.g., Ov. *Met.* 9.183, Luc. *B.C.* 4.617ff., Statius, *Theb.* 6.868, Juv. 3.89), Herakles had a very hard time defeating Antaios who, being the son of Ge, was able to recover his strength whenever he touched the ground. Finally Herakles managed to vanquish his enemy by lifting him in the air and crushing his bones in a tight grip. It was formerly assumed that this version of Herakles' victory first appeared in the Hellenistic period as a result of misinterpreting the images on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century vase-paintings which, as many scholars assumed, show Herakles lifting his opponent prior to a throw. However, in his meticulous analysis of Pind. fr. 100 (Snell-Maehler) Zuntz (1972) 3-17 has demonstrated that this version was the traditional one already in Pindar's time.

**52. ποτ’** : for ποτε which signals the start of a myth, cf. e.g. *Pyth.* 5.15, *Pyth.* 8.39, *Nem.* 4.25, *Pa.* 6 (fr. 52f).72.

**53b. ἦλθ’** with double acc., i.e. δόμους and Λιβύαν. For the construction of ‘part and whole’, see note on *Isth.* 4.46. θηρῶν λεόντων above.

**54a. πυροφόρον** : in antiquity, the land around Cyrene was famous for its fertility. According to Herodotus (4.199), the Cyreneans reaped three successive harvests a year; see further Chamoux (1953) 229-37. For other references to the fertility of Cyrenaica in Pindar, cf. *Pyth.* 4.6 καρποφόρον Λιβύας, *Pyth.* 9.7 πολυκαρποτάτας ... χθονός.

**54b. Ποσειδάωνος** : for the form of the name, see Braswell *Pyth.* 4.45 n. (c).

**55. υἱὸς Ἀλκμήνας** : although the content of lines 53a-54b makes it perfectly clear that the mythical paradigm for Melissos is Herakles, the poet avoids naming the hero explicitly until the beginning of the new triad. The enjambed phrase receives a special emphasis due to its position.

Herakles is often referred to by his matronymic elsewhere: e.g., Hes. *Th.* 526, 950 Ἀλκμήνης ... υἱός, *Scut.* 467 υἱὸς δ’ Ἀλκμήνης, Bacch. 5.71 Ἀλκμήνιος ... ἥρω, Ar. *Ra.* 582-3 Ἀλκμήνης ... | υἱός. Such references are not found in epic, where the heroes—with the exception of the twin Moliones—are always referred to by their patronymics. As pointed out by West *Th.* 1002 n., the use of matronymics is particularly characteristic of ‘people fathered by gods, nearly always Zeus’.

**55-60.** Herakles’ apotheosis and life of eternal bliss among the gods correspond to poetic immortality which Pindar wants to secure for Melissos. The participles ἐξευρών and ἡμερώσας (lines 56-7) are not merely temporal: cf. Pelliccia (1989) 96-7.

Immortality was Herakles’ prize for carrying out a civilizing mission as a killer of monsters, which for the Greeks represented the forces of barbarism. ‘No victor after his own πόνος and its eventual reward could have failed to appreciate the point of

comparison with Heracles' entry into Olympus' (Slater (1984) 250). The connection between the toils and Herakles' deification is more explicit in *Nem.* 8.69-70 αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν σχερῶι | ἡσυχίαν καμμάτων μεγάλων ποινὰν λαχόντ' ἐξαίρετον.

By the first half of the fifth century apotheosis had already become a part of Herakles' standard lore. Attic vase paintings show a growing interest in this theme beginning from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC: cf. Mingazzini (1925) 419, Brommer (1960) 123-33, Vollkommer (1988). In earlier tradition, however, Herakles was a mere mortal (cf. *Il.* 18.117-22 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα, | ὅς περ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι, | ἀλλὰ ἐμοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀργαλέος χόλος Ἥρης. | ὥς καὶ ἐγὼν, εἰ δὴ μοι ὁμοίῃ μοῖρα τέτυκται, | κείσομ' ἐπεὶ κε θάνω). There seem to be a broad consensus that the passages of the *Odyssey* (11.602-4), *Theogony* (947-55), and the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 25.26-33 and fr. 229), all referring to Herakles' deification, are later additions: see West, *Th.* 947-55 n.

**56-7.** Although ἐξευρών on its own does not directly refer to Herakles' killing of monsters and brigands, it seems clear that his exploratory activity on land and at sea is only subsidiary to his civilizing exploits, which elsewhere are often modified by the same polar doublet (cf. *Nem.* 1.62-3 ὅσσοις μὲν ἐν χέρσῳ κτανῶν, | ὅσσοις δὲ πόντῳ θήρας αἰδροδίκας, *Soph. Tr.* 1012 πολλὰ μὲν ἐν πόντῳ κατὰ τε δρῖα πάντα καθαίρων, *Eur. Her.* 225 ποντίων καθαρμάτων | χέρσου τ' ἀμοιβάς).

In addition to his fights with the monsters, Herakles' exploration of the sea is also linked to his discovery of navigable channels through the shallows (cf. *Nem.* 3.24-5 ἰδίᾳ τ' ἐρεύνασε τεναγέων | ῥοάς). According to Pindar, Herakles discovers the channel through the shallows himself, whereas in other accounts (Pherec. *FGrH* 3 F 16a) he has to make the Old Man of the Sea to show him the way.

The second participial phrase, *ναυτιλίαισί τε πορθμὸν ἡμερώσαις*, can be interpreted both as a more explicit reference to Herakles' fights with monsters and pirates (thus e.g. LSJ and Slater, following *Σ καθάρας ἀπὸ ληιστῶν καὶ θηρίων*) as well as to his discovery of the channels in the shallows.

**πολιᾶς ἁλός** : the phrase is conventional (e.g., *Il.* 1.350, 12.284, 13.682, *Ol.* 1.71, *Ol.* 7.61-2, *Pyth.* 2.68). In Homer, ἁλς, as opposed to *πόντος*, normally refers to the sea near the coast (cf. Latacz, *Il.* 1.350 n.).

The adjective *πολιός* is synonymous with *λευκός* since both are used to describe the froth of broken water: see examples in Reiter (1962) 59.<sup>30</sup> However, in most cases, as here, the notion of color does not seem to be 'any more pronounced than in the English 'between the devil and the blue sea'' (Gerber, *Ol.* 1.71 n.). More generally on the use of Homeric epithets in lyric poetry, see Harvey (1957) and recently Egoscozabal (2004).

**58. νῦν δέ** is a marker of a peculiar aetiological idiom designated by Pelliccia (1989) 86 as 'Heracles syntax'. Passages which fall into this category exhibit the following characteristics: '(1) the subject of the past tenses and the presents is the same; (2) at least one of the past tense verbs means "he died" or equivalent, and (3) the present tenses after the *νῦν δέ* are "eternal" presents and serve to describe the form of immortal afterlife enjoyed by the subject' (Pelliccia, *ibid.*). For this idiom, cf. *h. Hom.* 20.1-7, *h. Hom.* 15.4-8, Hes. fr. 25.25-28, Call. *h. Art.* 142-7. Often, as here, the verb implying death is suppressed, and the idea has to be inferred from the context (*Οὐλυμπόνδ' ἔβα*). For a somewhat similar use of *νῦν δέ* in the *anagnorisis* of drama, see Finglass Soph. *El.* 1285 n.

<sup>30</sup> For a different view, cf. Fogelmark (1972) 34-5, who argues that the adjective 'should rather be understood as a parallel to *γλαυκός*, not denoting the colour of the sea, but suggesting its smooth, placid surface'.

**Αἰγιόχων** : the epithet is used only of Zeus and means the ‘wielder of the *aegis*’ (a shield covered with goat-skin). Most scholars, however, agree that this is not the original meaning of the epithet. Various possibilities are discussed by West (1978) 366-8 and Janko, *Il.* 15.308-11 n.

**59. Ἥβαν** : a personification of youth. In the *Iliad*, Ἥβη is a servant (*Il.* 4.2-3, 5.722-3, 905), and her parentage is not mentioned. In later literature, she appears strictly as a spouse of the deified Herakles, a fact which lends further support to the view that the poet of the *Iliad* was not familiar with the tradition of Herakles’ apotheosis (see *Isth.* 4.55-60 n. above). The marriage of Herakles and Hebe is a common motif on vases: cf. Brommer (1960) 67, Vollkommer (1988) 37-9.

**ὀπυῖει** : the correction of Ceperinus is certain. The MSS variants (ὀπύει *B*, ὀπήει *D*) are all a result of iotacism in later Greek. For a similar case, cf. *Nem.* 9.24 νεογυῖους *B*, νεογήους *D*.

**60. χρυσέων** : being a master of the golden palace (οἶκων, LSJ s.v. 2) is another attribute of Herakles’ newly acquired divinity. Compare the golden palaces of Zeus and Poseidon in Homer (*Il.* 4.2, 13.21). According to Lloyd-Jones (1990) 173, ‘objects belonging to the gods are often called golden from Homer on’. See further discussion and examples in Diggle’s *Eur. Paeth.* 238 n. For the significance of gold imagery in Pindar and its relation to the realm of the divine, see Duchemin (1955) 193-228, Fränkel (1975) 471-2, 485-7, Gerber, *Ol.* 1.1 n.

**61-3.** The passage poses a number of serious difficulties. First, it is not entirely clear how the syntax works. The general consensus is to consider δαῖτα and στεφανώματα as the objects of πορσύνοντες and to construe αὔξομεν with ἔμπυρα in the next line, i.e. ‘in his honor, beyond the Elektran Gates we citizens prepare a feast and newly made crowns of the altars and multiply burnt offerings for the eight dead men armed in bronze’. The construction involves a zeugma, as πορσύνοντες goes naturally



with δαῖτα and only under a certain strain with στεφανώματα. The phrase στεφανώματα βωμῶν can be understood either as a reference to the crowns which were placed upon the altars (e.g., Dissen: ‘*coronatas a veteribus aras notissimum*’, Thummer; for iconographic evidence, see Blech (1982) 449)<sup>31</sup> or else as a reference to the circular arrangement of the altars (Σ *Isth.* 4.104d Χρύσιππος δέ, ἐκ περιφράσεως τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτοὺς στεφανώματα βωμῶν εἰρηκέναι, and cf. Soph. *Ant.* 122 στεφάνωμα πύργων). This interpretation, however, is problematic for two reasons: (a) although the unusual expression αὔξομεν ἔμπυρα is to some extent paralleled by Eur. *Hipp.* 537 βούταν φόνον Ἑλλὰς αἶψ’ ἀέξει, we must notice that the verb αὔξομεν is followed by a period end. In oral performance, the pause would more naturally invite the audience to construe αὔξομεν with στεφανώματα rather than with ἔμπυρα in the next line; (b) taking δαῖτα and στεφανώματα as the objects of πορσύνοντες would suggest that both the feasts and the crowns (or the circle of the altars) were prepared for Herakles, an assumption which does not sit quite well with the fact that βωμῶν is plural, unless we are to assume that the sanctuary contained a number of altars for Herakles.

The problem is somewhat alleviated if we take the units of sense to be punctuated by the period ends, i.e. ‘preparing in his honor the feasts above the Elektran Gates, we citizens also multiply new crowns of the altars (or ‘newly built circle of the altars’), burnt offerings for the eight dead men armed in bronze’. This produces a clear-cut distinction between the preparation of the feasts in honor of Herakles on one hand and the altars of the eight dead heroes (hence βωμῶν) on the other hand (τῶ is balanced by χαλκοαρᾶν ὀκτὼ θανόντων). But if so, the question is what ἔμπυρα χαλκοαρᾶν ὀκτὼ θανόντων stands in apposition to. Clearly, to στεφανώματα βωμῶν, i.e. ‘crowns’ or ‘the circle of the altars’. This is obviously

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<sup>31</sup> In this case we must reduce the force of νεόδματα to simply ‘new’ or ‘fresh’ (Σ *Isth.* 4.104d κατὰ παραγωγὴν εἴρηκε τὰ νέα νεόδματα, after the analogy with θεόδατος –α –ον, Slater s.v. 2 b ‘divine’).

problematic since neither the altars nor the crowns can be called *ἔμπυρα* in the most common sense of the term.<sup>32</sup> Krummen (1990) 46 suggests that *στεφανώματα βωμῶν* is neither a reference to the vegetal crowns nor to the layout of the altars but to the offerings and combustible materials which were set upon the altars.<sup>33</sup> The argument is to some extent supported by the frequent use of the verbs *στέφω* and *στεφανώω* (and their compounds) in connection with various kinds of religious offerings, especially offerings to the dead: e.g. *Soph. El.* 52-3 *λοιβαῖσι πρῶτον καὶ κατατόμοις χλιδαῖς | στέφαντες*, 441 *οὐκ ἄν ποθ' ὅν γ' ἔκτεινε τῶδ' ἐπέστεφε*, 458 *χερσὶ στέφωμεν ἧ τανῶν δωρούμεθα*, 895, *Ant.* 431 *χοαῖσι τρισπόνδοισι τὸν νέκυν στέφει*, *Aj.* 93 *καί σε* (i.e. Athena) *παγχρύσοις ἐγὼ | στέψω λαφύροις τῇσδε τῆς ἄγρας χάριν*, *Eur. Hec.* *τύμβον στεφανοῦν αἵματι χλωρῷ*, *Phoen.* 1632-3 *ὅς ἄν νεκρὸν τόνδ' ἧ καταστέφων ἄλωι | ἧ γῆι καλύπτων θάνατον ἀνταλλάσσεται*. Unlike Krummen, however, I do not see any compelling reason to think that *αὔξομεν* ‘bezeichnet die Tätigkeit des Chores’ (43): ‘we *chorus honor* the offerings in our song’. The verb is more likely to denote a ritual act parallel to the preparation of the feasts. In this regard *Eur. Hipp.* 537 is still a valid parallel. The general sense is then ‘we *Thebans pile up* the offerings (*στεφανώματα*) of the altars’. The idea of lavish offerings implicit in *αὔξομεν* is picked up later on in lines 66-7 *φλόξ ἀνατελλομένα συνεχὲς παννυχίζει | αἰθέρα κνισάεντι λακτίζουσα καπνῷ*. In my text I place a comma after *αὔξομεν* to indicate that the following line must be taken in apposition. A certain amount of skepticism, however, might still be retained

<sup>32</sup> In defense of the vegetal crowns as *ἔμπυρα*, one might point to Blech (1982) 449 referring to *ARV* 551.15, which depicts ‘Efeuzweige im Feuer’. But the idea of vegetal crowns being burnt on the altars of the dead heroes is not supported by what follows in lines 69 *αἰθέρα κνισάεντι λακτίζουσα καπνῷ* which clearly suggests burnt meat. The idea that altars themselves can be called *ἔμπυρα* is not altogether absurd either. As shown by Sokolowski (1979) 65-9 on the basis of epigraphic evidence, *ἔμπυρον* can be used of ‘an utensil or vas or small altar keeping materials that are on fire’ (66). The only problem is that in all of his examples *ἔμπυρα* designates relatively small and portable devices.

<sup>33</sup> The presence of wooden structures on which the offerings were burnt might also suggest that *νεόδματα* is not simply a *metri gratia* variant of *νέα*; cf. Krummen (1990) 46-7.

in default of any examples of *στέφ*-cognates referring to the offerings of burnt animal flesh in addition to the *χοαί* or dedication of presents and trophies.

It must be noted that whatever interpretation we choose to espouse, the sacrifice for Herakles is different from that for his dead sons: the former receives the feasts (*δαίτα*), the latter burnt offerings (*ἔμπυρα*). The difference in the character of the sacrificial activity points up the distinction between the Herakles as a god and his sons by Megara as mortal heroes: cf. Paus. 2.10.1, who relates the story of how a Cretan by name Phaistos on his arrival to Sikyon had discovered that the locals burn meat for Herakles as if for a hero. Phaistos himself sacrificed to Herakles as a god, i.e. by eating the meat of the sacrificed animal. The story provides an *aition* for the Sikyonian syncretistic practice of partly burning and partly consuming the lamb offered to Herakles. For the origins of the cult of Herakles and its rituals, see Nilsson (1906) 445-53, Farnell (1921) 95-174, Burkert (1985) 208-12. The ancient views on Herakles' divinity are briefly summarized in Pfeijffer (1999) 289-90.

**Ἀλεκτράν ὑπερθεῖν** : all we can gather from this remark is that the Herakleion was located outside the southern entrance to the city. It is difficult to be more precise in the absence of any physical remains of the sanctuary. Perhaps some topographical detail can be teased out from *Nem.* 4.20-4 οὐνεκ' Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἀγλαὸν παρὰ τύμβον | Καδμεῖοί νιν οὐκ ἀέκοντες ἀνθεσι μέγνων, | Αἰγίνας ἕκατι. φίλοισι γὰρ φίλος ἐλθὼν | ξένιον ἄστνυ κατέδρακεν | Ἡρακλέος ὀλβίαν πρὸς αὐλάν. According to Didymus, athletic contests took place in the gymnasium beside the tombs of Amphitryon and Iolaos (*Nem.* 4.32).<sup>34</sup> Considering this testimony in the light of Paus. 9.23.1-2, who locates the gymnasium and the stadion of Iolaos outside the Proitid Gates (east), it might be tempting to conclude that the tomb of Amphitryon was located in the same spot

<sup>34</sup> The scholia on this passage preserve traces of an ancient debate as to whether the Ioaleia and Herakleia should be considered separate festivals. Most modern scholars, however, agree with Didymus that these are variant names of the same festival: cf. Roesch (1975), Symeneoglou (1985) 136-7.

(Willcock, *Nem.* 4.22 n.). However, the landmarks mentioned by Pausanias seem to belong to the later classical period, when a separate sanctuary of Iolaos was built on the eastern side of the city: cf. Schachter (1981) 27. It is possible, then, that Didymus has in mind an entirely different location. The tombs of Iolaos, Amphitryon, and Herakles' dead sons are more plausibly identified with a large Mycenaean cemetery on the Kolonaki Hill south-west of the Elektran Gates (cf. Symeneoglou (1985) 108, 183), and it can be reasonably assumed that the Herakleion was located somewhere in this area (cf. Roesch (1976) s.v. Thebes, who locates the sanctuary in the vicinity of the chapel of Hagios Nikolaos). For some recent works on Theban topography, see Mastronarde (1994) 647. According to D'Alessio (2009) 158 n. 73, the site of the sanctuary is now being excavated by V. Aravantinos.

If we are right to assume that the sanctuary of Herakles was located on Kolonaki, it was probably overlooking the city, in which case Ἀλεκτράων ὑπερθεν should be taken as 'above the Elektran Gates' (so e.g., Krummen (1990) 36-7 and Race (1997)) rather than simply 'outside' (e.g., Wilamowitz (1922) 340 n. 3).<sup>41</sup> The idea gains some support from the following: (a) ὑπερθεν + gen. is normally used in the sense 'above' elsewhere: e.g., Sim. *PMG* 543.13 ὑπερθε τεῶν κομᾶν, Aesch. *Th.* 228 ὑπερθε ὀμμάτων, *Ag.* 232 ὑπερθε βωμοῦ, Hdt. 6.61 τὸ (i.e. τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἱρόν) δ' ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ καλομένῃ, ὑπερθε τοῦ Φοιβηίου ἱροῦ, of the temple situated on an elevated platform; (b) the verb κατέδρακεν in *Nem.* 4.23 (cf. LSJ s.v. 'look down', *pace* Slater s.v. 'behold') would be quite apposite if used of a person looking *down upon* the city from the Herakleion, implying that there the 'blessed court of Herakles' (Ἡρακλέος ὀλβίαν πρὸς αὐλάν) is not the sanctuary but either Thebes herself or a specific site within the city walls.

**63-4.** Pindar is our only source for the cult of Herakles' dead sons at Thebes.<sup>35</sup> The tragic death of Herakles' sons by Megara appears only in two fifth century sources:

(i) In Euripides Herakles returns to Thebes just in time to rescue his family from Lykos, who has already murdered Kreon and usurped his throne. After killing Lykos, however, Herakles is seized by madness and murders his own sons and wife with a bow and a club. His onslaught is checked only by the intervention of Athena, who knocks him unconscious with a stone (*HF* 906-9, 1002-6).

(ii) Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3F14), available to us only in a brief paraphrase of the scholia, differs from Euripides in one important respect: Herakles murders his sons by throwing them into a fire; the fate of his wife is unknown.

Which of the two is the earlier version, and which of the two is followed by Pindar? There seem to be no good reason to assume that death by means of a bow and a club was a Euripidean invention *tout court* (*pace* Wilamowitz (1895) 85). Pausanias (9.11.2) relates that his Theban guides pointed at the so called *σωφρονιστήρ*, the stone which Athena hurled at Herakles. The existence of this landmark suggests that the Thebans of Pausanias' day followed a version more or less along the lines of Euripides. Pausanias further observes that with the exception of Athena's intervention the account of his Theban sources was identical to the treatments of the story by Stesichorus and Panyassis. Tenuous as it is, this evidence seems to imply that in choosing the murder by means of a bow and a club Euripides was drawing on an earlier source, such as perhaps the *Cypria*, which, as we know from Procl. *Chrest.* 116, dealt with the subject of Herakles' madness.

Whatever the precise relationship between the versions of Euripides and Pherecydes, one thing is perfectly clear: Pindar aligns himself with neither of them.

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<sup>35</sup> Chrysippus (*Σ Isth.* 4.104b), a generally unreliable source, does not provide any information that is not otherwise deducible from the text of the ode. For a brief assessment of the whole issue, see Schachter (1981) 11.

The epithet *χαλκοάραι* is more naturally suggestive of grown warriors rather than of helpless children. Ancient commentators, baffled by this blatant inconsistency, tried to explain away the adjective as an equivalent of *βιαιοθάνατοι* (*Σ Isth.* 4.104f). The explanation is not very convincing in view of *Isth.* 5.41 *Μέμνονα χαλκοάραν*, which describes a bronze-clad warrior. It seems quite likely, therefore, that Pindar's account implies a third, presumably local, version of the story. Since Herakles' sons are referred to as warriors, it is possible that this version did not feature Herakles as their murderer. It must be noticed that *Σ Isth.* 4.104f mentions some unidentified sources (*τινας ἱστορεῖν*), according to whom the sons of Herakles were murdered by a stranger (*μη ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τινων δολοφονηθῆναι ξένων*), possibly Lykos or Augeas.<sup>36</sup>

There have been various attempts to explain the relationship between the origins of the cult and various strands of mythological tradition. Schachter (1972) 21-2 and (1981) 11, drawing on the comparative evidence of other group cults, argues that the originally distinct cult of warrior heroes at Thebes was absorbed into the cult of Herakles, and that the stories of Herakles' murder of his children 'arose from an attempt to give to these heroes an identity linked in some way with Herakles'.<sup>37</sup> Arguing along similar lines, Krummen (1990) 62-9 suggests that Alkaidēs, worshiped at Thebes together with his sons in a family group, was a local figure originally distinct from the panhellenic Herakles.<sup>38</sup> When Herakles took over the older cult of the Alkaidēs, his relationship to the Alkaidai had to be reestablished. In that case, the different versions of the infanticide might reflect various aspects of the actual cult. Thus, the Pherecydes' version involving death by fire may have originated as an

<sup>36</sup> The second suggestion is attributed to Socrates (*Σ Isth.* 4.104g = *FGrHist* IV 499).

<sup>37</sup> Schachter does not lay much store by Menekrates' (*Σ Isth.* 4.104g = *FGrHist.* II 344) suggestion that the dead sons must be called the Alkaidai, taking it as a scholarly attempt to distinguish Herakles' sons by Megara from those by Deianeira.

<sup>38</sup> This is clearly a version of Wilamowitz's theory (now largely discredited) that Alkaidēs was the original Theban name of the hero; cf. Bond, *Eur. Her.* 2 n.

aetiological explanation of the practice of casting small figurines of the Alkaidai into a fire, whereas death by means of arrows in Euripides, and presumably in the *Cypria*, is an instance of the *φόνος ἀκούσιος* motif, which involves death of a young person with subsequent establishment of the cult (e.g., Apollo and Hyakinthos, Kyzikos, the children of Medea at the temple of Hera Akraia).

**χαλκοαρᾶν** : for the formation of the compound (-ηρης < ἀραρίσκω), see Leumann (1950) 66, Forssman (1966) 84, Krummen (1990) 60. It has been plausibly argued, however, that the epithet refers back to *Isth.* 4.15 χαλκέω τ' Ἄρει, drawing a parallel between Melissos and his fallen relatives on one hand and Herakles and his dead sons on the other: cf. Krummen (1990) 60.

**ὀκτώ** : as might be expected, different sources give different numbers: two children are reported by Dionysius Samius (*Σ Isth.* 4.104g), three by Euripides, Apollodorus (2.7.8) and *Σ Od.* 11.269, four by Dinias the Argive (*Σ Isth.* 4.104g = *FGrH* 306F8), five by Pherecydes (*Σ Isth.* 4.104g = *FGrH* 3F14), seven by Batus (*Σ Isth.* 4.104g), eight by Menekrates (*Σ Isth.* 4.104g = *FGrH* II344). Apollodorus (2.7.8) and *Σ Od.* 11.269 give identical names: Therimachus, Deicoon, and Kreontiades. Dinias follows them but adds Deion. Pherecydes names Therimachos and Kreoniades but adds Antimachos, Klymenos, and Glenos. None of these names appear in the list given by Batus (*Σ Isth.* 4.104g). As usual in tragedy, Euripides does not mention the names of the children at all.<sup>39</sup>

**Μεγάρα ... Κρεοντίς** : Herakles received Megara as a reward for his liberation of Thebes from the Minyans (cf. Eur. *Her.* 50, Diod. 4.10, Apollod. 2.4.11). Kreon is mentioned as Megara's father already in *Od.* 11.269 *Μεγάρην, Κρέοντος ὑπερθύμιοιο*

<sup>39</sup> But cf. *Σ Isth.* 4.104g = fr. 1016 (Nauck) *Εὐριπίδης δὲ προστίθησιν αὐτοῖς* (i.e. to Therimachus and Deicoon) *καὶ Ἀριστόδημον*, on which Nauck comments: '[n]on perditam fabulam spectari hoc loco sed Herculem superstitem tragoediam probabiliter statuit Wilamowitz-Moelendorff Anal. Eur. P. 186 ad Euripidem translata videntur quae de interprete Euripidis dicenda erant'.

θύγατρα. It is not certain, however, whether he is to be identified with the Kreon of the Labdakid cycle. Merry and Stanford (*Od.* 11.269 n.) maintain that he is a different character but offer no arguments to support their contention. According to Robert (1915) vol. i 59, Kreon is originally a figure of the Herakles' myth (cf. Hes. *Scut.* 83), from where he migrated into the epic *Oidipodeia* and subsequently into Athenian tragedy. It is a curious fact, though, that, unlike later mythographers, neither Homer nor the tragedians refer to Kreon as a character of both myths; he is always either one or the other: cf. Mastronarde, Eur. *Phoen.* 10 n.

**65. ἐν δυθμαῖσιν αὐγᾶν φλόξ ἀνατελλομένα :** a somewhat unusual contrast, as one would expect the setting of the sun to be followed by the rising of the nocturnal heavenly bodies (LSJ II s.v. ἀνατέλλω). It is almost as if the flame and the smoke rising from the altars dim the light of the stars and the moon.

**παννυχίζει :** the metaphor of the flame 'reveling all night long' is not sufficient evidence that the Herakleia at Thebes featured an actual *παννυχίς* (pace Stehle (1997) 56), a festival activity normally associated with women: cf. Parker (2007) 166.

**66. αἰθέρα κνισάεντι λακτίζουσα καπνῶ :** the image of the flame kicking the sky with the savor of smoke has not been subject to criticism on aesthetic grounds. Thus, Σ *Isth.* 4.110a charges Pindar with *σκληρότης* and quotes *Il.* 1.317 *κνίσῃ δ' οὐρανὸν ἵκεν ἐλισσομένη περὶ καπνῶ* as an example of more apposite phrasing. Willcock *ad loc.* Seconds the scholiast: 'the metaphor ... is not unreasonably criticized by the scholia as somewhat harsh'). Such aesthetic misgivings, however, are not very helpful in understanding the implications and the function of the metaphor. It must be noticed that the verb *λακτίζω* is a *t.t.* of the pankration. The term is not recorded by Poliakoff (1982), although it is used by Lucian to describe the moves of the pankratiasts: e.g., *Anach.* 3.2 οἱ δὲ ὀρθοστάδην κεκοιμημένοι καὶ αὐτοὶ παίουσιν ἀλλήλους προσπεσόντες καὶ λακτίζουσιν, 36.9 γυμνοὺς εἰς τὸ μέσον παραγαγόντες λακτιζομένους



καὶ παιομένους ἐπιδείκνυτε καὶ νικήσασι μῆλα καὶ κότινον δίδοτε, *Herm.* 33.9 (shadow sparring) οὐκοῦν ἦν τινα καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἔδῃ ἀσκούμενον πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος λακτίζοντα εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἢ πύξ κενὴν πληγὴν τινα καταφέροντα).

The participle gives a new and unexpected twist to the personification of the flame already implied in *παννυχίζει* ('the Flame revels all night long', see n. above). The fire (*φλόξ*) and the sky (*αἰθέρα*) now suddenly emerge as pankratiasts involved in a bout of cosmic dimensions. The image is activated when we reach *λακτίζοισα καπνῶ*, a phrase which receives additional emphasis by virtue of its position at the end of the antistrophe. The agonistic metaphor anticipates the reference to the annual games of the Herakleia.

**67-8. καὶ δεύτερον ἄμαρ, ἐτείων τέρμ' ἀέθλων, | γίνεται ἰσχύος ἔργον :**

there are two ways to construe this sentence: (a) to punctuate with a comma after *γίνεται* ('and on the second day there is the end of the annual games, the deed of strength', (b) to set off *ἐτείων τέρμ' ἀέθλων* by commas ('and on the second day, the end of the annual games, there is the deed of strength'). Most of those who subscribe to (a) try to explain *τέρμ' ἀέθλων* as a periphrasis for *ἀέθλα*. For instance, according to Boeckh *τέρμ' ἀέθλων* is synonymous with *κρίσις ἀέθλων* (*Nem.* 10.23), while Fennell suggests that *τέρμα* is 'the end consisting of annual games'. Neither argument, however, is supported by any parallels. The reason why scholars have trouble taking the phrase literally (i.e. 'the end of the games') is because they assume that the first day of the Herakleia was devoted to ritual activity alone, and that all the contests were held on the second day. The assumption, however, has no basis in our text. Pindar does not tell us when exactly the games started. It is possible that some athletic events were held on the same day as the feast for Herakles and the offerings for the Alkaidai, while others took place on the following day. The phrase *ἰσχύος ἔργον* seems to be particularly appropriate as a reference to pankration or combat events rather than to all

events in general. If so, one may assume that the second and the final day of the games featured only combat events. On this interpretation, both (a) and (b) would come down to more or less the same thing.

**70. μύρτοις** : for myrtle crowns and their chthonic associations, see *Σ ad loc.*, Bötticher (1856) 452-5, Murr (1890) 84-91, Blech (1982) 318-21.

**ῥδ' ἀνὴρ** : on reading (or hearing) line 70, the noun would first be naturally understood as the subject: 'this man here'. However, as we move to the next line, it has to be reinterpreted as a part of the predicate, i.e. 'this one here declared two victories in the category of ἀνδρες'.

**ἀνὴρ** : for the form with long alpha used as a metrical variant, see Braswell, *Pyth.* 4.21 n. (c).

**71a.** νίκαν ἀνεφάνατο ~ *Isth.* 4.2 εὐμαχανίαν ... ἔφανα, a framing echo ignored by those who assume that *Isth.* 3 and 4 are one poem and appeal to *Isth.* 3.8 χρὴ δὲ κωμάζοντ' ἀγαναῖς χαρίτεσσιν ~ *Isth.* 4.72 κωμάξομαι τερπνὰν ἐπιστάζων χάριν. It is often the case in Pindar that ideas or images used in the opening of a poem resurface toward the end. See examples in Carey *Nem.* 7.91f. n.

**παίδων** : the gen. depends on νίκαν ('victory among boys'). The poet combines two different constructions normally used in indicating age categories of athletes: (i) Ebert 70.1-2 πάμμαχος ἐν Νεμέᾳ νικῶ καὶ τρὶς Βασίλεια | παῖς καὶ ἀνὴρ and (ii) Ebert 7 Ὀκυδρόμας Λύκος Ἴσθμ' ἄπαξ, δύο δ' ἐνθάδε νίκαις | Φειδόλα παίδων ἐστεφάνωσε δόμους.

**τρίταν** : the word order requires: (lit.) 'and he proclaimed the victory in boys' contests as his third one earlier'. Of course, Melissos' victory as παῖς was the first one to be proclaimed, but the temporal order is reversed by a kind of *hysteron proteron* giving more prominence to the two victories among ἀνδρες. The adjective 'may seem otiose by our standards, but could have been quite necessary by Pindaric ones: to make

it clear that the victory in the boys' contest was distinct from, not included in, the *diploan nikan* mentioned two lines before' (Cole (1987) 563).

**71b-72b.** The ode ends with the reference to Melissos' trainer, Orseas, of whom we know nothing. Trainers are acknowledged six times elsewhere in the epinician corpus: five times in Pindar (*Ol.* 8.54-66, *Ol.* 10.16-21, *Nem.* 4.93-6, *Nem.* 5.48, *Nem.* 6.64-6) and once in Bacchylides (13.190-8). As plausibly argued by Silk (1998), there are good reasons to exclude *Isth.* 5.59-61 from this list. No trainer is mentioned in the extant victory epigrams.

It is usually observed that Pindar mentions trainers only (a) when the victory was attained in one of the combat disciplines (boxing, wrestling or pankration) and (b) when the victor is a *παῖς* or an *ἀγέλειος*. (a) can be ascribed to the fact that success in the so called *βαρεῖς ἀγῶνες*, more than in any other discipline, required a special kind of expertise which could not be acquired without professional instruction.<sup>40</sup> The privilege of being mentioned in an epinician ode is then a recognition of the trainer's contribution to the victories of his trainees. (b) seems to be a logical consequence of (a), since the instruction of younger athletes required more intense supervision than that of older and more experienced ones.<sup>41</sup> However, unlike (a), which is never breached, (b) does not always obtain, as is the case with *Isth.* 4, although it is clear that Melissos won at the Isthmos as *ἀνήρ*, his trainer is mentioned nonetheless. One way to explain this is to assume with Hamilton (1974) 107 that Orseas is mentioned in connection with Melissos' earlier victory at the Herakleia as a *παῖς* (71 *παίδων <τε> τρῖταν | πρόσθεν*).

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<sup>40</sup> This is not to suggest that participants in other events did not use trainers. For iconographic and literary evidence attesting to the presence of trainers in other disciplines (long jumpers, runners, discus- and javelin-throwers), see Nicholson (2005) 124-7, 161.

<sup>41</sup> The argument that *ἄνδρες* did not employ trainers is a circular inference from the fact that Pindar and Bacchylides do not mention trainers in their odes for men.

The status of the trainer *topos* in the epinician odes is further complicated by the fact that Pindar is not consistent in naming the trainers of boys (*Pyth.* 8, *Ol.* 11) and adolescents (*Isth.* 6 and probably also *Isth.* 8). Although the almost complete lack of information about the circumstances of composition and the external pressures on the poet is sufficient to prevent us from drawing any far-reaching conclusions as to why this should be the case, some possibilities are worth taking into account. Thus, in a recent study, almost entirely devoted to Pindar's treatment of trainers, Nicholson (2005) argues that references to trainers in some odes and their complete absence from others can be explained on the assumption that the central role played by hired professionals in coaching aristocratic athletes was perceived as a threat to aristocratic ideology, which considered inborn qualities more important than acquired technical skills. According to Nicholson, one way of dealing with this threat was to avoid any reference to these hired professionals altogether. This seems to have been impossible in the cases when trainers were very prominent individuals. In that situation, the poet had to do his best to disguise the coaching services provided for payment and present them as a relationship of abiding friendship which has nothing to do with the transmission of specific technical skills.

The argument is not compelling. First, the assumption that aristocrats considered acquisition of technical skills in heavy disciplines as something potentially unsettling for their world view or as something that needs to be concealed is not supported by any evidence whatsoever. On the contrary, as pointed out by Young (1984) 149 n. 47, Pindar himself praises 'innate talent *augmented* by technical training'. Second, there seems to be no solid evidence that trainers in Pindar's time were hired for wage. Although such evidence is available for later periods (Kyle (1987) 141-5), we cannot draw the same conclusion with regard to archaic and early classical periods. As Young (1984) 147-57 has rightly emphasized, the situation was

probably more complicated. If we assume that at least some athletes in combat disciplines were of non-aristocratic descent (which is however questionable), it is indeed possible that some of them would become professional trainers and make their living by coaching other athletes. However, in the case of aristocratic trainers, it seems highly unlikely that remuneration for their services would be a major issue in the relationship between them and their trainees. Their connection with the families of the athletes were probably not regulated by any financial contract, although this does not necessarily imply that they were never rewarded in one way or another. Whether all trainers mentioned by Pindar were aristocrats is a question that we cannot answer with certainty.

**71b. κυβερνατῆρος οἰακοστρόφου :** for Pindar's description of trainers in terms of other professional occupations, cf. *Nem.* 5.48-9 (craftsman, architect), *Nem.* 6.66 (charioteer). For the analogy between trainers and pilots, cf. Arist. *Polit.* 1279a5.

**72a-72b. σὺν Ὀρσέῳ δέ νιν | κωμάξομαι :** the prepositional phrase can be interpreted as adding another object or another subject: (a) 'in praising him I would add the name of Orseas' (Bundy (1962) 21) or 'I shall (now) include Orseas in my poem for him' (Race (2004) 91); (b) 'With Orseas, I will celebrate him in the revel' (Nicholson (2005) 157). In favor of (b) is the fact that in the absolute majority of cases Pindar uses σὺν + dat. to add another subject. However, there are a few exceptions: 'Pindarus ... nonnumquam σὺν cum dativo etiam objecto addit, ita ut aliquis una cum altero pati videatur' (Bossler (1862) 27): cf. *Ol.* 13.40-2, *Pyth.* 11.20-1; cf. also *Bacch.* 5.138. Although either one is possible, (a) seems preferable because there is no other instance in epinician poetry where a trainer is introduced in the capacity of an encomiast.

**κωμάξομαι :** Bundy (1962) 21 has plausibly argued that the future 'does not promise a second ode in praise of the victor and his trainer, but informs the audience

of the importance of the trainer's role in securing the current victory'. Pfeijffer (1999) 58-60, however, sees in *κωμάξομαι* a promise of another song which was scheduled for performance within the same poetic program. He believes that *κωμάξομαι* anticipates the religious procession in honor of Herakles and the Alkaidai, and that this procession could feature performance of yet another song celebrating Melissos and Orseas. This is hardly convincing because the whole argument depends only on Krummen's (1987) 33-97 speculations that *Isth.* 4 was performed in the context of a public festival (see Intro IV). The flaws of Pfeijffer's argument are very clearly exposed by Race (2004) 89-91.

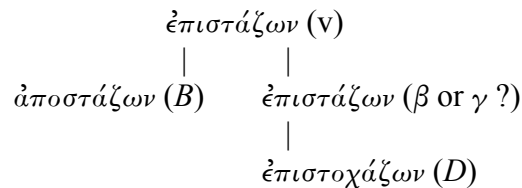
*B* has *κωμάζομαι*, a type of scribal error which is common elsewhere in Pindar: cf. Young (1965) 263 = Calder and Stern (1970) 114.

**τερπνὰν ἀποστάζων χάριν** : 'trickling delightful song', *pace* Nicholson (2005) 157 'pouring out thanks', who thinks that *χάρις* here means the same thing as at *Ol.* 10.17-18 *ἴλαι φερέτω χάριν | Ἀγησίδαμος*, which describes the gratitude of the athlete toward his trainer. For *χάρις* as the charm of poetry, see Verdenius (1987) 103-6 and ample bibliography in Gerber, *Ol.* 1.18 n. It is typical of epinician poets to refer to their own poetry in the closing lines of their odes: cf. *Ol.* 1, 2, 6, *Pyth.* 1, 4, *Nem.* 8, 9, *Isth.* 2, 5, *Bacch.* 3, 5, 13.

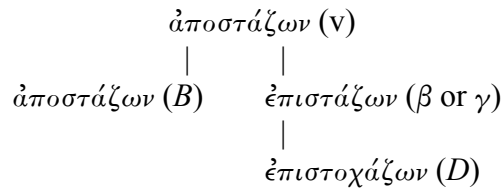
The metaphor of song as a liquid substance (i.e. honey-like or ambrosial drink) is common in Greek poetry. For the description of song as a drink, cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7.1-9, *Ol.* 6.91, *Nem.* 3.77, *Isth.* 6.74-5. For ambrosial song or utterance, cf. Hes. *Th.* 69, *Hymn. Hom.* 27.18, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.299 (*pace* Braswell *ad loc.*), *Bacch.* 19.2. For various verbs suggesting fluidity (pouring, flowing, dripping etc.) of poetic or other kinds of discourse, cf. *Il.* 1.249, *Od.* 19.521, Hes. *Op.* 583, *Th.* 39-40, *h. Hom.* 19.18, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.136-7, *Pyth.* 10.56, *Isth.* 8.58, *Bacch.* 5.15, *A. Supp.* 631, *Cho.* 449. More generally on this topos, see further Wilhelmi (1967), Waszink (1974), and

Nünlist (1998) ch. 8 and ch. 18. For some examples in Latin poetry, see Onians (1988) 66 n. 2. Indo-European and Semitic parallels are collected by West (1997) 229, (2007) 89-91.

**ἀποστάζων** : Triclinius' ἐπιστάζων (*ex Σ Isth.* 4.123 *τερπνὴν τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις ἐπιστάζων τὴν παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν χάριν*) is accepted by all editors except Hermann and Mommsen. The arguments given in favor of ἐπιστάζων are: (a) paleographically *B*'s ἀποστάζων and *D*'s unmetrical ἐπιστοχάζων can both be traced to ἐπιστάζων; (b) ἐπιστάζων makes better sense than ἀποστάζων: the latter means 'letting fall from myself', while the former 'dropping upon another', which seem to better fit the context (Cokesley (1851) 251). The arguments are not convincing. (a) The Triclinian correction implies the following:



However, the opposite is just as possible:



Moreover, neither scenario is paleographically more plausible than the other.

Confusion of prefixes and prepositions is a common MS error: cf. Young (1965) 263 = Calder and Stern (1970) 114. (b) It is unclear why the difference in the semantics of the two compounds should make us prefer ἐπιστάζων. The context admits either one of them.

### ISTHMIAN 3: COMMENTARY

**Title.** The ode is more properly classified as *Nemean*. The fact that it is transmitted as *Isthmian* in our MSS is due to the Alexandrian editors of Pindar, who routinely classified odes referring to multiple victories by the first victory mentioned in the text. Aside from *Isth.* 3, the same principle is at work in *Ol.* 12, *Isth.* 2, 8, and *Pyth.* 7; see further Barrett (2007) 164-5. For a more general account of the principles of arrangement of the epinician odes of Pindar within separate book rolls, see Lowe (2007) 167-76.

As in the case with all odes that follow *Nem.* 7, the MSS omit the heading. The heading used here is conventionally reconstructed on the basis of the text of the poem and the scholium ( $\Sigma$  *Isth.* 3.inscr. γέγραπται Μελίσσω Θηβαίῳ. οὗτος ἐνίκησεν Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεα, πρόσκειται δὲ τῇ ᾧδῇ ἵπποις διὰ τὸ μὴ δηλοῦν τὸν Πίνδαρον τὸ τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος εἶδος, πότερον κέλητι ἢ τεθρίππῳ· μόνον δὲ ἵπποδρομία λέγει ἐστεφανῶσθαι).<sup>1</sup> The title reflects our uncertainty about the type of the hippic event because *ἵπποδρομία* in line 13 may refer either to the single-horse race or chariot race. The latter is perhaps slightly preferable; see *Isth.* 3.13 n. on *ἵπποδρομία*.

**1-13. Proem.** It is a familiar feature of all Greek poetry that a poem or a separate discourse within a poem opens with a statement of universal truth (*gnome*) and proceeds toward a concrete illustration; see examples in West, Hes. *Op.* 11-46 n.

The victory ode is the occasional genre *par excellence*, all epinician proems develop in such a way as to culminate with the announcement of a specific achievement: (a) athletic event, (b) venue, and (c) the name of the victor. The statement of these basic facts, also known as the statement of the epinician program, is

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<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence that prior to the Alexandrian edition copies of Pindar's poems circulated with titles. It is in fact quite uncertain whether they circulated in written form at all. For a different view, see Hubbard (2004).



the core of every epinician ode. The proem—whether it starts with a *gnome*, striking metaphor, or hymnal aporia—will have fulfilled its focusing function once these basic facts are disclosed. Pindar himself explicitly punctuates the proem of *Nem.* 4 in accordance with this principle: *Nem.* 4.9-10 τό (referring back to the opening of the ode) μοι θέμεν Κρονίδαι τε Δί καί (b) Νεμέα | (c) Τιμασάρχου τε (a) πάλαι | ὕμνου προκώμιον εἴη. In *Isth.* 3 the statement of the epinician program spreads over lines 9-13 and ends with the enjambed ἱπποδρομία κρατέων, a thematic link between the strophic pair and the epode.

Although it is difficult to agree with Willcock's (1995) 88 description of the trite *gnome* in the opening of the poem as 'an arresting statement', he is certainly right to emphasize the general similarity between the openings of *Isth.* 3 and *Ol.* 11. First, the occupational priamel of *Ol.* 11 is likewise conditional in its logic: 'when people want to sail they need winds; when they want a good harvest, they need rains; but if someone is victorious in the games he needs praise'.<sup>4</sup> Second, both proems are concerned with establishing the relationship between achievement and praise. There is one important difference, however: the opening of *Ol.* 11 starts with a much more generally formulated foil than that of *Isth.* 3, which in a sense picks up exactly at the point where the priamel of *Ol.* 11 reaches its intermediate climax (*Ol.* 11.4-6 εἰ δὲ σὺν πόνῳ τις εὖ πράσσοι κτλ. 'if someone wins the games through his toil etc.').

The opening of *Isth.* 3 as a whole is carefully structured. The *gnome* is a variation of the commonplace of ancient Greek thought, succinctly formulated in *Nem.* 3.29 ἐσλὸν αἰνεῖν, 'praise the good'. Elsewhere in Greek literature, the idea is often accompanied by its mirror image: 'praise the good, cast blame on the bad': cf. Hes. *Op.* 12-3; Pind. *Nem.* 8.39 αἰνέων αἰνητά, μομφὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων ἀλιτροῖς, Gorg. *Hel.* 1 ἄνδρα δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ λόγον καὶ ἔργον καὶ πόλιν καὶ πρᾶγμα χρὴ τὸ μὲν ἄξιον ἐπαίνου ἐπαίνῳ τιμᾶν, τῷ δὲ ἀναξίῳ μῶμον ἐπιτιθέναι. A person, object or certain

type of behavior cannot be praised if he/she/it falls short of the requirements specified by the encomiast or does not meet with the approval of the community as a whole. For such polar habit of thought, see Fränkel (1975) 448. Thus, from the very beginning of the ode the poet envisages two separate categories of individuals (1-3): (a) those who, having attained success, restrain their *κόρος* and therefore deserve to be praised by their fellow citizens, (b) by implication, those who succumb to it, and are for this reason blameworthy.

The following lines (4-8) continue to narrow the focus by restating the same idea, but now from a slightly different perspective. The speaker turns to the ethical aspect of the relationship between achievement and praise. The universalizing pair *σὺν εὐδόξοις ἀέθλοισι* (1) and *σθένει πλούτου* (2) is picked up by *μεγάλαι δ' ἀρεταί* (4). All *ἀρεταί* are dispensed by Zeus (5 *ἐκ σέθεν*), be it athletic prowess or wealth. These *ἀρεταί* can fall to the lot of any mortal. However, the durability of *ὄλβος* ('happiness') accruing through them is directly dependant on one's moral qualities.<sup>2</sup> That there are two types of recipients has already been implied in the opening gnome (1-3). Now these two categories of individuals are contrasted explicitly: (a) *ὀπιζόμενοι* (= *εἴ τις ... κατέχει φρασὶν αἰανῇ κόρον*) and (b) *πλαγίαι φρένες* (= *εἴ τις ... [μὴ] κατέχει φρασὶν αἰανῇ κόρον*).

The focus continues to narrow. Lines 7-8 pick up and intensify *ἄξιος* (3) with double *χρῆ* (7-8). The approval of one's fellow citizens turns into poetic encomium (7 *ὑμνῆσαι τὸν ἔσλόν*, 8 *κωμάζοντ' ἀγαναῖς χαρίτεσσιν βαστάσαι*). The moralizing of the previous lines allows to define the laudandus as *ἔσλος* (7). Schematically, the train of thought can be represented as follows:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Willcock suggests taking *ἀρεταί* as corresponding to *ἀέθλοισι* and *ὄλβος* to *πλούτου*. However, *ἀρεταί* can just as easily refer to both, and *ὄλβος* does not need to have a strictly material aspect here.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar sequence of thought, cf. *Nem.* 11.13-18 *εἰ δέ τις ὄλβον ἔχων μορφῇ παραμεύσεται ἄλλους, | ἐν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων ἐπέδειξεν βίαν, | θνατὰ μεμνάσθω περιτέλλων μέλη, | καὶ τελευτὰν ἀπάντων γὰρ ἐπιεσσύμενος. || ἐν λόγοις δ' ἀστῶν ἀγαθοῖσιν ἐπαινέσθαι χρεών, | καὶ μελιγδούποισι δαιδαλθέντα μελίζεν ἀοιδαῖς.*

(1) (A) arete

εἴ τις ἀνδρῶν εὐτυχήσῃς

(a<sup>1</sup>) ἢ σὺν εὐδόξοις ἀέθλοισι

(a<sup>2</sup>) ἢ σθένει πλούτου

(B) qualities of laudandus

(b<sup>1</sup>) κατέχει φρασὶν αἰανῆ κόρον,

(b<sup>2</sup>) [εἴ τις ... μὴ κατέχει φρασὶν αἰανῆ κόρον]

(C) praise

(c<sup>1</sup>) ἄξιός ἐυλογίαις ἀστῶν μεμίχθαι.

(c<sup>2</sup>) [οὐκ ἄξιός ἐυλογίαις ἀστῶν μεμίχθαι].

(2) (A) arete

Ζεῦ, (A) μεγάλα δ' ἀρεταὶ θνατοῖς ἔπονται ἐκ σέθεν·

(B) qualities of laudandus

(b<sup>1</sup>) ζῶει δὲ μάσσων ὄλβος ὀπιζομένων,

(b<sup>2</sup>) πλαγίαις δὲ φρένεσσιν οὐχ ὁμῶς πάντα χρόνον θάλλων

ὁμιλεῖ.

(3) (A) arete, (B) qualities of laudandus, (C) praise (song)

(A) εὐκλέων δ' ἔργων ἄποινα (C) χρὴ μὲν ὑμνῆσαι (B) τὸν

ἔσλόν | (B) χρὴ δὲ κομάζοντ' ἀγαναῖς χαρίτεσσιν βαστάσαι

In lines 9-11 the concrete climax of this sequence is finally reached, as the poet reveals the basic facts of the victory. The spotlight is firmly fixed on Melissos. His two victories in the Panhellenic games testify to his athletic ἀρετή. The very fact that he is the subject of Pindar's ode implies that he is up to the highest moral standards, as defined in the proem. His name now simply supplants τὸν ἐσλόν. He receives his due share of prizes and is intent on celebration:

(4) (A) arete, (B) laudandus, (C) song

ἔστι δὲ καὶ (A) διδύμων ἀέθλων (B) Μελίσσῳ

(C) μοῖρα πρὸς εὐφροσύναν τρέψαι γλυκεῖαν

ῥῆτορ

A shorter climactic sequence follows, as the antistrophe ends by specifying the venues and the event. The catalogue of Melissos' victories is arranged in order of ascending importance and in accordance with the principle of increasing elements, 'das Gesetz der wachsender Glieder': Melissos' 'previous victory in the pankration is eclipsed by his Nemean victory in the chariot race' (Race (1990) 176): (11-13) (a) ἐν βάσσαισιν Ἰσθμοῦ | δεξαμένῳ στεφάνους, (b) τὰ δὲ κοίλα λέοντος | ἐν βαθυστέρνου νάπα κάρυξε Θήβαν | | ἱπποδρομία κρατέων.

**1-3.** The present indicative in the protasis of generic conditions in Pindar is interchangeable with the optative; cf. *Ol.* 11.4 εἰ δὲ σὺν πόνῳ τις εἶδ' ἔπρασσοι (Hummel (1993) §436-44). Gildersleeve (1882) 438: 'Occasionally generic, it (i.e. a logical condition) almost always has in view a particular illustration of the principle involved. The *τις* of the εἰ *τις* is the victor, the victor's enemy, the victor's encomiast, and doubtless, sometimes, when it seems to us indefinite, it had a special point'; similarly Bundy (1962) 54.

**1. εὐτυχῆσαις :** the action of the participle is anterior to the action of the verb (κατέχει). One's εὐτυχία is manifest through the ἀρεταί which are given by the gods, in this case by Zeus; cf. de Heer (1968) 50. However, it inevitably leads to κόρος, which needs to be restrained. For Pindar's use of Aeolic aorist participles in -αις, see Verdier (1972) 65-103.

**1-2. σὺν εὐδόξοις ἀέθλοισι | ἣ σθένει πλούτου :** the preposition here is commonly considered as instrumental (e.g., Slater s.v. 1.b.β, Thummer, Willcock). On

the face of it this option is by far the simplest. Yet success ‘by means of prizes’ does not seem to make nearly as much sense as ‘success by means of powerful wealth’. The often compared *Ol.* 11.4 εἰ δὲ σὺν πόνῳ τις εὖ πράσσοι is not exactly parallel; πόνος is not the same thing as ἀέθλα. It seems preferable, therefore, to detach the prepositional phrase from εὐτυχήσας and take it more closely with what follows, i.e. ‘if someone has attained success and, while he is attended by prizes and powerful wealth, restrains his baneful ambition etc.’ In other words, prizes and wealth are attendant upon success; they are not means of achieving it.

There are two further alternatives, but both involve some difficulties. Thus, Bury reasonably argues that σὺν denotes accompaniment, insisting that ‘the success of the man consists in the fact that prizes or wealth accompany him on his way’. Yet he also suggests that both items of the pair must refer to material success. This is very close to what has been proposed above, but a victory in the games does not necessarily entail material reward. Athletic prizes and wealth do not represent different kinds of affluence; rather, they encompass different kinds of ἀρετή.

Privitera’s argument that σὺν is partly associative, given the presence of other words expressing associative ideas (3 μεμίχθαι, 6 ὀμιλεῖ, 9 διδύμων, 14 σύμφυτον, 17a σύννομοι) fails to convince, because (a) he produces no example of instrumental + associative use of σὺν, and (b) the words adduced to support the argument have no bearing on the meaning of the preposition.

More generally on the use of σὺν in Pindar, see Bossler (1862), Gildersleeve (1890) xcvi, and Mommsen (1895) 572-8.

**εὐδόξοις ἀέθλοισι | ἧ σθένει πλούτου** : universalizing doublet, representative of all kinds of ἀρετή: cf. *Ol.* 9.28 ἀγαθοὶ δὲ καὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ δαίμον’ ἄνδρες, where the courage is balanced by skill, ‘ein Ganze vetretende Polarität’ (Bischoff (1938) 24); cf. also Soph. *Aj.* 129-30 (Athena speaking to Odysseus) μηδ’ ὃ γκον ἄρη μηδέν’, εἴ

τινος πλέον | ἢ χειρὶ βρίθεις ἢ μακροῦ πλούτου βάθει. For a universalizing triplet, cf. *Nem.* 11.13-5 εἰ δέ τις ὄλβον ἔχων μορφῇ παραμεύσεται ἄλλους, | ἔν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων ἐπέδειξεν βίαν, | θνατὰ μεμνάσθω περιστέλλων μέλη.

**2. σθένει πλούτου :** the epic periphrasis (cf. *Il.* 21.195 μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο) presents wealth as a force of nature outside of human control: cf. *Ol.* 9.51 ὕδατος σθένος, *Pyth.* 4.144 σθένος ἀελίου χρύσεον, *Pae.* 9.14 (52k Snell-Maehler) νιφετοῦ σθένος. Compare also the famous opening of *Ol.* 1, where gold, superior form of wealth, goes hand in hand with water, the best element in the realm of nature. For the power of wealth, cf. *Pyth.* 5.1 ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής, *Isth.* 5.2-3 μεγασθενῇ ... | χρυσόν.

**φρασί :** restored by Boeckh from the MSS (*pace* Heyne). This is the only instance in Pindar where the MSS are not divided between the old zero grade dative φρασί and the analogical Homeric and Attic φρεσί: φρένες (Schwyzer i 343). Both forms are transmitted at *Ol.* 7.24, *Pyth.* 2.26, 3.108, 4.109, and *Nem.* 3.62; only φρεσί in *Pyth.* 3.59. See further Braswell, *Pyth.* 4.219 n. (a).

**αἰανῇ κόρον :** ‘nagging greed’ and by implication ὕβρις (‘tetra ὕβρις’ Heyne). There are two main types of κόρος in Pindar (Slater, s.v.): (a) dissatisfaction with having too much of something, which refers primarily to the negative reaction of the audience caused by excessive praise (*Ol.* 2.95, *Pyth.* 1.82, 8.32, *Nem.* 7.52, 10.20) and comes very close in meaning to φθόνος (cf. Schadewaldt (1928) 288 n. 2; Bundy (1962) 29 n. 71; Slater (1969) 94 n. 1 and Bundy (1972) 89 n. 111 responding to Slater); (b) dissatisfaction with not having enough, i.e. ‘ambition, greed’ (*Ol.* 1.56, *Nem.* 1.65 and the present case). The third category (c) is a personified progeny of ὕβρις (*Ol.* 13.10 ὕβριν, Κόρον ματέρα θρασύμυθον), although a certain degree of personification can be sometimes detected in (a) and (b) as well. The same genealogy is found in Hdt. 8.77 διὰ ἱκὴ σβέσσει κρατερὸν Κόρον, ὕβριος υἱόν. But cf. Thgn. 153-4 τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῶι ὄλβος ἔπηται | ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾗ,

Sol. *fr.* 6 W *τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἔπῃται | ἀνθρώποις ὅπ  
 ὅσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ.* It is not clear which of the two is the traditional one. However,  
 as observed by Gildersleeve (*Ol.* 13.10 n.), this is not really important, since by Greek  
 custom the granddaughter would often be named after the grandmother ('it is a mere  
 matter of Ὑβρις - Κόρος - Ὑβρις'). The close connection between the two concepts  
 often makes them virtually interchangeable, as is the case in our passage and in Sol. *fr.*  
 4. 9-10 W *οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον οὐδὲ παρούσας | εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν  
 δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ.* The kind of metonymy in which the cause (κόρος) or the source  
 stands for the outcome (ὕβρις) is a familiar characteristic of some abstract nouns in  
 Greek (Slater (1983) 130 n. 41) and more specifically in Pindar: e.g., *Ol.* 7.89 *τίμα μὲν  
 ὕμνου τεθμὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν, | ἄνδρα τε πύξ ἀρετὰν (= κλέος ἀρετᾶς) εὐρόντα.*

**αἰανῆ :** 'irritating, nagging' (Slater, s.v.). Ancient grammarians normally derive  
 the word from *αἰᾶ* (= *γαῖα*), *αἰεί* or *αἰαί*, but the real etymology is unknown. Used  
 only three times elsewhere in Pindar (Slater, s.v.), the adjective always admits a  
 temporal interpretation; see Braswell's note on *Pyth.* 4.236, who conveniently  
 summarizes all the relevant facts presented in a detailed study of this word by Degani  
 (1962) 37-56.

**3. εὐλογίαις :** first attested in Pindar; cf. *Ol.* 5.24 *ἐξαρκέων κτεάτεσσι καὶ  
 εὐλογίαν προστιθείς, Nem.* 4.5 *εὐλογία φόρμιγγι συνάορος, Isth.* 6.21 *τάνδ' ἐπιστείχοντα  
 νᾶσον ῥαινέμεν εὐλογίαις.* The word is not found elsewhere in lyric. There is one  
 instance in a pseudo-Simonidean elegiac adespoton (*fr.* 27 W *τοῦ δὲ ποταρχοῦντος  
 πειθώμεθα· ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν | ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, εὐλογίαν τε φέρειν*) and another in  
 Eur. *HF* 356 (lyr.) *ὑμνῆσαι δι' εὐλογίας*, in a choral section replete with epinician  
 echoes. The word on its own does not mean 'song', and yet it definitely looks forward  
 to it. The plural may be dependent on the plural of *ᾠδῶν* or may also imply repeated  
 expressions of praise (cf. *Ol.* 6.98).

**μεμίχθαι** : ‘to be crowned with’ (Slater, s.v. c. a, listing it together with *Nem* . 1.18 θαμὰ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμ- | πιάδων φύλλοις ἐλαιᾶν χρυσεόις | μιχθέντα, *Nem*. 2.22 ἐν ἔσλοῦ Πέλοπος πτυχαῖς | ὀκτὼ στεφάνοις ἔμιχθεν ἦδη, *Nem*. 4.21 Καδμεῖοί νιν οὐκ ἀέκοντες ἄνθεσι μείγνυν). For μείγνυμι as a ‘farblose zeitwort’ (i.e. a verb which acquires its meaning from the context), see Dornseiff (1921) 94-5. On this basis, one might object that the passages listed by Slater are not exactly parallel because all of them contain explicit references to victory crowns which give the verb its proper coloring. For this reason others preferred a more neutral rendering: e.g., Thummer ‘erlangen’, Race ‘to be included in his townsmen’s praises’.

**4. Ζεῦ** : on the form of address and the position in the line, see Kambylis (1964) 180-3.

**ἔπονται** : Slater (s.v. a, b) distinguishes between ἔπομαι used of persons and of things. In his second category, however, the subject of the verb is almost always an abstract entity (e.g., μοῖρα, ὄλβος, ἀρετά, τόλμα, δύναμις, μῶμος etc.) involving a certain degree of personification. For a full-fledged personification, cf. *Pyth*. 5.2-4 ὅταν τις ἀρετᾷ κεκραμένον καθαρᾷ | βροτήσιος ἀνὴρ πότμου παραδόντος αὐτὸν (i.e. πλοῦτον) ἀνάγῃ | πολύφιλον ἐπέταν (Wealth is a member of Arkesilas’ entourage). Alternatively, the beneficiaries themselves can be described as followers and friends of wealth and success: cf. *Sem*. 1.9-10 W νέωτα δ’ οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ δοκεῖ βροτῶν | πλούτῳ τε κάγαθοῖσιν ἔξεσθαι φίλος.

**5. ἐκ σέθεν** : the original ablative use of σέθεν (‘from you’) is often found in hymnal contexts (Braswell, *Nem*. 1.4 n.). For ‘Du-stil der Praedikation’, see Norden (1956) 163ff. The prepositional phrase is postponed to the final position in the sentence and runs over into the next line, thereby acquiring a special emphasis. For a similar effect, cf. *Ol*. 14.20 σεῦ ἔκατι (delayed and enjambed) referring to Thalia, who, like Zeus here, is apostrophized in the immediately preceding lines.



**5-6.** The statement that morally upright individuals enjoy ὄλβος for a longer period of time, whereas the depraved ones ‘not forever’, involves a slight illogicality: the opposite of οὐχ ὁμῶς πάντα χρόνον ὀμιλεῖ is not ζῶει μάσσων but ζῶει ὁμῶς πάντα χρόνον or αἰεῖ. This, however, would be a still more problematic assertion because the Greeks considered ὄλβος of the living as transient regardless of their piety and moral qualities (Bacch. fr. 53 ὄλβιος δ’ οὐδεὶς βροτῶν πάντα χρόνον, frg. 25 παύροισι δὲ θνατῶν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον δαίμων ἔδωκεν | πράσσοντας ἐν καιρῷ πολιοκρόταφον | γῆρας ἰκνεῖσθαι, πρὶν ἐγκύρσαι δύα). One’s ὄλβος can become permanent only after death (*Nem.* 1.69). The idea is best illustrated in a Simonidean epigram in honor of the Athenians who fell in the Persian Wars (*FGE* a-b; Diehl 88) ἀπείρου πορτιτρόφου ἄκρον ἔχοντες | τοῖσιν πανθαλῆς ὄλβος ἐπιστρέφεται. Matthaiou (2003) 196 rightly argues that ‘it is *only the dead and especially the pious* [emphasis mine] for whom ὄλβος is everblooming’.

**5. ζῶει :** used with an abstract noun only here in Pindar. However, personification of abstract entities in gnomic passages is a familiar Pindaric practice: cf. *Nem.* 4.6 ῥῆμα δ’ ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει, *Ol.* 2.19-20 ἐσλῶν γὰρ ὑπὸ χαρμάτων πῆμα θνάσκει | παλίγκοτον δαμασθέν, a passage which seems to describe ‘a concrete death-struggle of beings’ (Kirkwood, *ad loc.*).

**ὀπιζομένων :** ‘god-fearing’. ὀπῖς is the reverence shown by men to the gods (LSJ s.v. ὀπῖς II 1; s.v. ὀπίζομαι 1); cf. Hdt. 9.76 ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὀπιν ἔχοντας, Thgn. 1148 φραζέσθω δ’ ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν σκολιὸν λόγον αἰεῖ, | οἱ θεῶν ἀθανάτων οὐδὲν ὀπιζόμενοι.

**πλαγίαις δὲ φρένεσσιν :** metonymy, i.e. τοῖς πλαγίας φρένας ἐχοῦσι. That the ‘crooked minds’ here pick up the idea of unrestrained κόρος is clear from *Nem.* 1.64 καί τινα σὺν πλαγίῳ ἀνδρῶν κόρῳ στείχοντα.

The Aeolic dative φρένεσσιν is not otherwise attested in Pindar. There is no

reason to assume that *φρένεσιν* ‘carried to a Greek ear a modulation of meaning slightly different from that of metrical variant. The repetition of *φρένεσιν* only three lines after *φρασί* does not seem to have any rhetorical motivation. Pindar, as Greek poets in general, is not very sensitive to repetition of cognates (cf. Gildersleeve on *Pyth.* 1.80 ‘the Greeks have not our dread for repetition’). See further Ritter (1885) 239-92, who observes that, while the poet expends much effort and ingenuity to avoid repetition of proper names, other words are as often varied as not. It is only in a very limited number of cases that repetition has a particular rhetorical goal: cf. Schroeder (1900) 43-4.

**6. ὁμῶς πάντα :** for the intensificatory combination of *ὁμῶς* and *ὁμοῦ* with ‘*παν-* words’, see Mastronarde, *Phoen.* 1192 n.; cf. also *Isth.* 7.42 *θνάσκομεν γὰρ ὁμῶς ἅπαντες*, Stes. P.Lille 76Aii + 73i. 204 *οὔτε γὰρ αἰὲν ὁμῶς*.

**7. χρῆ :** the so called ‘procedural’ *χρῆ*, which in Plato ‘characterizes what the interlocutors should do to further their discussion’ (Benardete (1964) 289). In this case, *χρῆ* also intensifies *ἄξιος* (3), as the speaking subject proceeds toward the application of the principles set out in the strophe to the specific laudandus.

**ἐσλόν :** like its synonym, *ἀγαθός*, the adjective can denote either competitive/social (e.g., nobility, wealth, achievement) or co-operative/moral (e.g., justice, restraint, self-control) qualities; see Adkins (1960) 195-8, (1972) 59-98. Here it seems to be a combination of the two because both *arete* and one’s ability to cope with *hybris* are prerequisites of praise.

**8. χρῆ δὲ κωμάζοντ’ ... βαστάσαι :** there are two ways to construe this passage: (a) most scholars take *κωμάζοντα* as the object of *βαστάσαι*: ‘one should greet the victor with songs as he proceeds in the *κῶμος*’; (b) others (e.g., Bury *ad loc.*) construe it as the subject: ‘as one proceeds in the *κῶμος*, one should greet him (i.e. object understood from *ἐσλόν* in the previous line) with songs’. In principle, both are

possible. However, (b) seems to have a slight edge over (a) because in Greek the participle in the accusative following *χρή* and preceding the infinitive is nearly always the subject and *not* the object of the infinitive.<sup>4</sup> The only example to the contrary is *Od.* 15.74 *χρὴ ξείνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν*, which, however, is quite a bit different; that *ἐθέλοντα* must be the object is clear because it is contrasted with *παρεόντα*, and there is no second *χρή*. The syntax of (a) suggests that the victor himself participates in a *κῶμος*, a word which may well disguise a formal event, i.e. triumphant entry of the returning victor into the city; (b), on the other hand, seems to imply a band of revelers who are *en route* or who have already arrived at the doors of Melissos' house (cf. *Isth.* 8.1-4). Either way, it is important to keep in mind that we are talking about a fictional situation not necessarily the actual context of performance.

**βαστάσαι** : Fraenkel (Aesch. *Ag.* 35 n.) quotes the Suda (173 *βαστάσαι οὐ τὸ ἄραι δηλοῖ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ψηλαφηῖσαι καὶ διασηκῶσαι καὶ διασκέψασθαι τῇ χειρὶ τὴν ὀλκὴν*), suggesting that the verb 'means not a desultory touching, grasping, or taking hold of an object (here [i.e. *Ag.* 35] of the hand and the forearm) but the holding and poisoning of it' (*pace* Dale, Eur. *Alc.* 19 n.). What the Watchman in the *Agamemnon* describes is *δεξιῶσις*, 'the affectionate gesture at the moment of greeting a friend, after a long absence, when one holds his right hand and does not quickly let it go'. More generally, then, the verb means 'to greet' (cf. *Ol.* 12.18-19 *Ἐργότελες, | θερμὰ Νυμφῶν λουτρὰ βαστάζεις ὄμι- | λέων παρ' οἰκείαις ἀρούραις*, i.e. 'greets them').

Other scholars have been satisfied with the interpretation of the scholiast (Σ

<sup>4</sup> Here are some Pindaric examples: *Ol.* 8.74 *ἀλλ' ἐμὲ χρὴ μυαμοσύναν ἀνεγείροντα φράσαι*, *Pyth.* 3.103 *χρὴ πρὸς μακάρων | τυγχάνοντ' εὖ πασχέμεν*, 4.271 *χρὴ μαλακὰν χέρα προσβάλλοντα τρώμαν ἔλκεος ἀμφιπολεῖν*, *Nem.* 1.25 *χρὴ δ' ἐν εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς στείχοντα μάρνασθαι φνῶ*, *Isth.* 4.66 *χρὴ δὲ πᾶν ἔρδοντ' ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸ ν ἐχθρόν*. For a construction with double *χρή*, cf. *Isth.* 8.15b-16a *χρὴ δ' ἀγαθὰν ἐλπίδ' ἀνδρὶ μέλειν | χρὴ δ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοισι Θήβαις τραφέντα | Αἰγὶνὰ Χαρίτων ἄωτον προνέμειν*.

*Isth.* 3.11 *χρὴ δὲ τὸν τοιοῦτον ὑψῶσαι καὶ μετεωρίσαι ταῖς χάρισιν*): e.g. *tollo, gesto, effero* (Rumpel), *extollere* (Mezger), ‘raise up’, and hence ‘honor’, ‘glorify’ (Willcock). Thummer finds this rendering plausible but suggests that *χαρίτεσσιν βαστάσαι* can also mean ‘to touch with song’. The argument, however, is not convincing, because his only parallel (*Nem.* 4.2 *αἶ δὲ σοφαί | Μοισᾶν θύγατρῃς ἀοιδὰὶ θέλξαν νιν ἀπτόμεναι | οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον γε μαλθακὰ τεύχει | γυῖα*) describes the therapeutic effects of song, a context in which *βαστάσαι* is never used.

**9-13.** The phrase *διδύμων ἀέθλων*, taken as ‘two prizes’, is a usual case of the extension of the original meaning ‘twin’, properly used of twin siblings to refer to virtually anything that constitutes a pair (see LSJ s.v., Slater, s.v. 2). The two prizes are specified by the participial phrase *ἐν βάσσαισιν Ἰσθμοῦ δεξαμένῳ στεφάνους* and a separate clause *τὰ δὲ κοίλα λέοντος ἐν βαθυστέρνου νάπα κάρυξε Θήβαν*. The construction is slightly anacoluthic: the participle *δεξαμένῳ* dependant on the dative *Μελίσσῳ* is balanced by the finite verb *κάρυξε*.

But what are we to make of the run-over *ἵπποδρομία κρατέων*? Strictly speaking, it should go only with *κάρυξε* because *δεξαμένῳ στεφάνους* refers only to the occasion of *Isth.* 4 which celebrates the victory of Melissos in the pancratium (cf. *Isth.* 4.62). Privitera, who is followed by Willcock, revives the interpretation of the scholia, according to which both the Nemean and the Isthmian victories of Melissos were attained in a hippic event (*Σ Isth.* 3.15 *τοῦτο οὖν λέγει ὡς καὶ Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεα νενικηκότος αὐτοῦ ἵπποδρομία*). They argue that *Isth.* 4.62 refers to a victory in the local Theban games. Privitera tries to eliminate the anacoluthon by punctuating with a colon after *ἐν βάσσαισιν Ἰσθμοῦ δεξαμένῳ στεφάνους*. He assumes that the participial clause has a temporal aspect denoting an action anterior to *τὰ δὲ ... κάρυξε*. Following his interpretation, *ἐν βάσσαισιν Ἰσθμοῦ δεξαμένῳ στεφάνους* is not included in *διδύμων ἀέθλων* which means not ‘two prizes’ but ‘the second prize’ implying Nemean victory

only; that is, the prizes received at Nemea are literally the twins of the prizes received earlier at the Isthmos: ‘Melissos has the share of the twin victory so that he turns his heart to sweet revelry, since in the glens of the Isthmos he formerly received the crowns; and *now* in the hollow vale of the deep-chested lion he caused Thebe to be proclaimed through his victory in the horse race’.

The argument, however, is problematic in a number of ways. First, it seems impossible that διδύμων ἀέθλων can refer to only one prize (or one set of prizes) as being the twin of the other, because the Isthmian and the Nemean victories are not a natural pair even if we assume that both were achieved in the same event; Isthmian games were ranked above the Nemean. Second, it is not entirely clear why διδύμων ἀέθλων should be introduced so much earlier than what Privitera assumes to be its point of reference (11-12 τὰ δὲ ... κάρυξε). Privitera’s suggestion to punctuate after ἐν βάσσαισιν Ἰσθμοῦ δεξαμένῳ στεφανοῦς would in fact separate διδύμων ἀέθλων from τὰ δὲ ... κάρυξε even further, in which case δεξαμῖν ἐν στεφανοῦς would remain the only natural referent for διδύμων ἀέθλων (‘Melissos has his share of twin victory, having received crowns at the Isthmos’). Third, and most important, the anacoluthon or lack of symmetry, i.e. main clause followed by two segments in apposition, one of which contains a participial predicate and the second a finite verb, is a typically Pindaric construction: e.g., *Ol.* 1.12-15 ἀμφέπει σκάπτων ἐν πολυμήλῳ | Σικελία δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετῶν ἀπο πασῶν, | ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καὶ | μουσικᾶς ἐν αῶτι, *Pyth.* 4.79-81 ἐσθλὰς δ’ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἔχεν, | ἃ τε Μαγνήτων ἐπιχώριος ἀρμόζοισα θαητοῖσι γυίοις, | ἀμφὶ δὲ παρδαλέα στέγγετο φρίσσοντας ὄμβρους (see further Braswell, *Pyth.* 4.79-81 n. and Dornseiff (1921) 104-5). The construction is also widely attested elsewhere in Greek; cf. Schwyzer ii, 406, K-G ii, 100. 4. There is, however, something unique about the *Isth.* 3.9-13: unlike all other instances of such anacoluthon, the participle here is not in the nominative but in the dative. The anomaly perhaps is not that striking

if we remember that ἔστι + dat. is equivalent to the regular nominative predication, i.e. ‘Melissos has’. Moreover, it is possible that the construction of ‘to be’ + dat. with the subsequent attraction of the participle is chosen on purpose in order to dissociate the segment which mentions Melissos’ Isthmian victory from ἵπποδρομία κρατέων.

At any rate, it is impossible to deny that the passage is ambiguous. But the question is whether the ambiguity is accidental or deliberate. Cole (1987) in his study of the victory catalogues in Pindar has noted that in some cases the figures for the victories can fluctuate according as one construes the syntax (e.g., *Isth.* 6.60-2 ἄραντο γὰρ νίκας ἀπὸ παγκρατίου | τρεῖς ἀπ’ Ἰσθμοῦ, τὰς δ’ ἀπ’ εὐφύλλου Νεμέας, | ἀγλαοὶ παῖδές τε καὶ μάτρως, *Isth.* 5.17-19 τὴν δ’ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ διπλόα θάλλουσ’ ἀρετά, | Φυλακίδ’, ἄγκειται, Νεμέα δὲ καὶ ἀμφοῖν | Πυθέα τε, παγκρατίου). The same motivation may account for the ambiguity here. There is no need to suppose that Pindar would go so far as to enhance the glory of his patron at the cost of veracity. Many people among the audience would know the facts at first hand and would have no difficulty in understanding what figures are actually implied. However, the poet can have manipulated the syntax to suggest the higher figures to those among the audience who were not familiar with the facts. This could be particularly effective in the case of secondary and tertiary audiences. The syntax is just vague enough to suggest that the victory at the Isthmos was also attained in a prestigious hippic event.

**9. ἄεθλων :** for synizesis in Pindar, see Peter (1866), 29-32.

**εὐφροσύναν γλυκεῖαν :** *hilaritas cantusque* (Boeckh). Thummer is wrong to compare *Ol.* 6.35 γλυκείας ... Ἀφροδίτας, where the ‘sweetness’ is of entirely different nature. εὐφροσύνα is a word with unambiguous sympotic associations. It means ‘victory revel’, ‘conviviality’, ‘merriment and drinking’ and can even imply song itself: cf. Bundy (1962) 2 n. 8; Slater (1977) 200; Gerber (1982) *Ol.* 1.58 n., Latacz (1966) 165-8.

The adjective at the end line seems to allude to the etymology of the victor's name standing at the end of the previous line. For a similar effect involving the first position in the line, cf. *Pyth.* 6.52-3 γλυκεῖα δέ φρῆν καὶ συμπόταισιν ὀμιλεῖν | μελίσσᾶν ἀμείβεται τρητὸν πόνον.

**10-11. τρέψαι ... | ἦτορ :** for the expression, cf. Hes. *Op.* 316 εἴ κεν ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίων κτεάνων ἀεσίφρονα θυμὸν | εἰς ἔργον τρέψας, *Op.* 646 εὐτ' ἂν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην τρέψας ἀεσίφρονα θυμὸν, Alcaeus 335.1 (Lobel-Page) οὐ χρῆ κάκοισι θῦμον ἐπιτρέπην.

**δὲ καί :** emphatic καί with a connective δέ (Denniston 305-6): 'and two are the victories that M. has' (Slater s.v. D 1 c).

**τρέψαι** is consecutive infinitive without ὥστε (Schwyzer ii. 362-3; Braswell, *Pyth.* 4.145-6 n. (a)). The construction is common with intransitive verbs: e.g., *Ol.* 3.5, *Pyth.* 4.145-6, 10.48.

**11. στεφάνους :** the original Isthmian crowns were made of pine (πίτυς), as suggested by the *Isthmiastai* of Aeschylus (Radt, F\*\*78c.39). The crowns of wild celery (σέλινον) were used instead starting from the early fifth century BC. Incidentally, it is the only kind of Isthmian crowns mentioned by Pindar (*Ol.* 13.33, *Nem.* 4.88, *Isth.* 2.16, 8.64). The old practice of awarding crowns of pine seems to have been revived some time in the second century BC. For more evidence, see Broneer (1962) and Blech (1982) 131-4.

**τὰ δέ :** adverbial, 'moreover'; cf. *Pyth.* 8.28 τὰ δέ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐμπρέπει (i.e. Aigina): cf. Pfeijffer (1999) 508.

**λέοντος :** Nemea was the scene of Herakles' first labor (Apol. 2.74-6), his fight with the monstrous lion sent by Hera to harass the neighboring people and their flocks. Our earliest source for this story is Hesiod (*Th.* 327-32). Other references in early poetry are found in Pind. *Isth.* 6.47-8, Bacch. 9.6-9, 13.44-57 (where an unknown speaker, presumably Athena, witnesses the fight and predicts the foundation of the

games at the site).

**12. νάπη :** Nemea is situated in a small and marshy valley framed by the Arkadian mountain ranges.

**βαθυστέρνου :** ‘deep-chested’. The epithet is otherwise used almost exclusively of the earth. This fact prompted Bergk to restore *βαθυστέρνῳ* from the paraphrase of the scholiast (*Σ Isth.* 3.15 ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ καὶ βαθυστέρνῳ νάπῃ τοῦ λέοντος). The correction is easy and finds further support in *Nem.* 3.18 ἐν βαθυπεδίῳ Νεμέα, *Nem.* 9.25 τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα. However, there is little to be gained from another pleonastic adjective with *νάπη*. The passage seems to require a balancing epithet with *λέοντος*. I retain *βαθυστέρνου* as the *lectio difficilior*.

Braswell, *Nem.* 9.25 n. suggests that *βαῖθυστερνός* might have suggested itself as a metrical variant of *βαῖρκομπός* (cf. *Bacch.* 9.9 βαῖρφογγον λέοντα). But this raises a further question: why did the poet decide not to use the already available metrical equivalent (*Ol.* 11.20 οὔτ’ ἐρῖβρομοι λέοντες)?

**κάρυξ Ἰθάβαν :** the herald announced the victor’s city at the ceremony of coronation. Although singular and plural forms are often used indiscriminately, the former is more common in poetry and implies personification (cf. *Isth.* 1.1). Thebe is the eponymous nymph of Thebes. She is a daughter of Asopos and Metope who was abducted by Zeus (*Isth.* 8.16-20). According to some accounts, she was the wife of Zeus’ son Zethos (*Apol.* 3.45).

**13. ἱπποδρομίᾳ κρατέων :** triadic and strophic enjambment in Pindar is used for the purposes of emphasis (see Dornseiff (1921) 107, Nierhaus (1936) 24, Bowra (1964) 320-1, and Braswell, *Pyth.* 4.262 n.). It occurs both when there is no sense boundary at the end of the strophe or triad (‘necessary enjambment’) and when there is one, as here (‘unperiodic enjambment’). Both types of enjambment can also serve the purposes of thematic dovetailing between larger metrical blocks. Ours is a perfect



example: *ἵπποδρομία κρατέων* refers back to M.'s athletic achievement described in the antistrophe and at the same time announces the main subject of the epode, the success and investment of Melissos' ancestors in chariot racing. See further *Isth.* 4.37 *δαιμόνων βουλαῖς* n. below.

**ἵπποδρομία :** in the *Il.* 23.330 the word *ἵπποδρόμος* means 'a race-course for chariots' (cf. also Plat. *Crit.* 117c, *Ion* 537a; *ἵππιος δρόμος*). Although Simonides uses the word for a victory with a single horse (*PMG* 511, fr. 1. (a). 8 *ἵππόδρ[...]*), the fact that the poet always refers to the Kleonymidai in the context of chariot racing (*Isth.* 3.16, 17b, *Isth.* 4.29) gives good reason to assume that Melissos was victorious in this equestrian event.

**κρατέων :** in Pindar the verb is often only a synonym of *νικάω* (*κράτος*, 'victory'): cf. Dornseiff (1921) 20, Slater s.v., Thummer (1969) i 29. It is a notable feature of the victory epigrams that the participial phrases involving *νικήσας* or *νικῶν* + athletic event are often placed at the most emphatic position in the pentameter line (e.g., Ebert 4 *Κλεοσθένης μ' ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Πόντιος ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου*, | *νικήσας ἵπποις καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διός*). The enjambed *κρατέων* is strikingly similar (cf. also *Ol.* 13.30 *πενταέθλω ἄμα σταδίου* | *νικῶν δρόμον· ἀντεβόλησεν*). The similarity should not be taken to suggest that Pindar imitates the language of the victory epigrams. Rather, in both cases the emphasis is most likely reminiscent of the formulaic phrasing of the heraldic proclamation.

**14. σύμφυτον :** the dative that goes with the adjective must be stated explicitly or else it must be easily understood from the context: *σύμφυτον*, i.e. *τοῖς ἀνδράσιν*; cf. Lys. 10.28 *οὕτω σύμφυτος αὐτοῖς ἡ δειλία*. The same applies to *σύννομοι* below. For some examples in drama, where the relation is similarly implied by the context, see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 153.

**οὐ κατελέγχει** = *γεραίρει* (Slater (1969) 93), negative in lieu of a strong

affirmative (litotes). Cf. Köhnken (1976) 63: ‘Die eingeborene Leistungskraft seines Geschlechts bestaetigt er in hohem Masse’. Conversely, to win is to bring shame on one’s opponents; cf. *Pyth.* 11.49-50 *Πυθοὶ τε γυμνὸν ἐπὶ στάδιον καταβάντες ἤλεγξαν | Ἑλλανίδα στρατιὰν ὠκύτατι*, *Ol.* 8.68-9 *ἐν τέτρασιν παίδων ἀπεθήκατο γυίοις | νόστον ἔχθιστον καὶ ἀτιμοτέραν γλῶσ- | σαν καὶ ἐπίκρυφον οἶμον*. For similar litotes, cf. *Ol.* 8.19 *ἔργω τ’ οὐ κατὰ εἶδος ἐλέγχων*, *Pyth.* 8.36 *Οὐλυμπία τε Θεόγνητον οὐ κατελέγχεις*, *Nem.* 3.14-16 *ὦν παλαίφατον ἀγοράν | οὐκ ἐλεγχέεσσιν Ἀριστοκλείδας τεάν | ἐμίανε κατ’ αἶσαν*, *Pyth.* 9.79-80 *ἔγνον ποτέ καὶ Ἰόλαον | οὐκ ἀτιμάσαντά νιν ἐπτάπυλοι | Θῆβαι*, *Isth.* 2.20 *οὐκ ἐμέμφθη*. This must have been recognized as a typically epinician locution: *Anth. Gr.* 9.557 *ὁ σταδιεὺς Ἀρίης ὁ Μενεκλέος οὐ κατελέγχει | Περσέα, σὸν κτίστην, Ταρσέ, Κίλισσα πόλι*.

**15. ἴστε μὰν :** the same asseveration introduces the myth of Aias at *Isth.* 4.35-6 *ἴστε μὰν | Αἴαντος ἀλκάν*. However, the fact that Pindar’s audience are familiar with the story of Aias through poetic sources does not necessarily suggest the existence of songs in honor of Kleonymos, as some scholars seem to assume (e.g., Wilamowitz (1922) 337 n. 1: ‘Gedichte auf ihn (i.e. Kleonymos) erhalten waren’).

**Κλεωνύμου :** otherwise unknown. Meautis (1962) 255 considers him a mythical ancestor of the family. Wilamowitz (1922) 337 believes that K. is a Theban aristocrat of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. Neither claim is verifiable. The name itself is very common one throughout the Greek world (cf. *LGPN* s.v.).

**δόξαν ... ἄρμασιν :** instrumental dative (K-G i 428, Schwyzer ii 166), as in *Pyth.* 6.17 *ἄρματι νίκαν*, *Isth.* 2.13 *ἵπποισι νίκαν*.

**17a-17b. Λαβδακίδαισιν σύννομοι | πλούτου :** ‘partners of the Labdakids in wealth’, i.e. as rich as the Labdakids. The adjective is often used either with gen. (‘partner in smth.’) or with dat. (‘partner to smb.’); only here with both. But cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1488 *πτανὰ ... | σύννομοι νεφέων δρόμου*, ‘winged partners of the clouds in the

race course', i.e. swift as the clouds (see Dale *ad loc*).

All commentators assume that the Kleonymidai were related to the Labdakids (e.g., Boeckh: *Labdacidis ... cognati*, Mezger: 'dem Labdakidengeschlecht angehörig', Willcock: 'on the female side they are descended from the royal family of Thebes'). This assumption, however, has no basis in our text. The word *σύννομος* cannot mean 'relative', whether construed with *πλούτου* or not. In its basic meaning it refers to animals grazing in flocks (LSJ s.v. 1) and by extension to partnership and comradery among people (LSJ s.v. 3). The idea of kinship between the two families seems to originate with the scholiast, who clearly struggles to make sense of the passage (*Σ Isth.* 3.26a): *ὥς κατὰ μητέρα ἀπὸ Λαβδάκου καὶ Οἰδίποδος τοῦ Κλεωνύμου ὄντος. διό φησι καὶ μητρόθεν σύννομοι πλούτου. τὸ γὰρ πρὸς μητρὸς τοῦ Μελίσσου καὶ Κλεωνύμου γένος συνάπτεται τοῖς Λαβδακίδαις διαπρέψασι κατὰ τὴν ἡνιοχικὴν. τὸ δὲ σαφές· τὸ δὲ μητρῶον γένος εἰς τοὺς Λαβδακίδας ἀνάγονται, καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ὄντες εὐδοξίας πλούτον ἱκανὸν περιεκτῶντο ἄρμασιν ἀγωνιζόμενοι.* The reasoning of the scholium is so obviously circular as to require no extensive comment: (a) 'because (explaining the lemma) Kleonymos on his mother's side is a descendant of L. and O.'; (b) 'therefore, the poet says *μητρόθεν σύννομοι πλούτου*'; (c) and he says that because 'the family of M. and K. on the mother's side is related to the L. through marriage'; (d) 'it is clear, then, that the family on the mother's side trace their origin back to the L.'

What may have prompted the idea of kinship between the two families? A possible clue is offered by *Σ Pyth.* 11.12d, where *ἐπίνομος* is in fact glossed by *σύννομος*. Interestingly, inscriptions often use *ἐπίνομος* as a synonym of *κληρόνομος*, meaning 'heir' or 'heir in possession' (LSJ s.v. III 2). Since heirs are in most cases relatives, the scholiast might have been tempted to establish a closer connection between the Kleonymidai and the Labdakidai than what our text allows.

**μητρόθε** : either (a) the mother of Kleonymos (*Isth.* 3.26a) or (b) his wife (e.g. Bury). The latter is to a certain extent supported by *Ol.* 7.23-4 τὸ μὲν γὰρ πατρόθεν ἐκ Διὸς εὔχονται· τὸ δ' Ἀμυντορίδαι | ματρόθεν Ἀστυδαμείας, where ματρόθεν referring to the wife of Tlapolemos. Yet it is impossible to resolve the ambiguity either way. In any case, we must remember that the poet addresses the audience who are familiar with the genealogy of the family (*Isth.* 3.15 ἵστε μάν), and who would have no difficulty to understand the reference.

**18a-18b.** The ode has started with a series of gnomic statements and so it ends. The tone is now somber and admonitory; For similar endings in epinician odes, cf. *Pyth.* 12.30-2, *Ol.* 7.87-95, *Pyth.* 7.18-25. In the past the Kleonymidai were prosperous and enjoyed unrivalled success in horse race. As Melissos Nemean victory clearly shows, this is still the case in the present. However, at the peak of his glory the victor must remember that human affairs are extremely unstable and always alternate between misery and happiness. For this common place, cf. Archil. fr. 130 W, Theogn. 441 W, Mimn. 2.15-6 W, Sol. fr. 14 W, Sim. 16, 18 *PMG*, Soph. *Ant.* 1158-60, *Tr.* 131-5, Eur. *Ion* 969 etc. Although the Labdakid dynasty mentioned in the previous line provides an excellent illustration of this universal truth, Melissos has no need to look far back into the past in search for examples. His own family recently lost four kinsmen in battle, and, to judge from Pindar's reference at *Isth.* 4.16-17, the memories of this disaster were still quite fresh.

The two *gnomai* are arranged in chiasmic order. The vicissitudes of human life are pitched against the inviolable condition of the 'children of the gods': (a<sup>1</sup>) αἰὼν δὲ κυλινδομέναις ἡμέραις (b<sup>1</sup>) ἀλλ' ἄλλοτ' ἐξ | ἄλλαξεν. (b<sup>2</sup>) ἀτρωτοί γε μὰν (a<sup>2</sup>) παῖδες θεῶν.

**18a. αἰὼν** in Pindar means 'human life', as distinct from χρόνος, 'all time'. The word seems to approach the former sense already in Homer and Hesiod: e.g., *Il.* 4.478-

9 μινυνθάδιος δέ οἱ αἰὼν | ἔπλεθ' ὑπ' Αἴαντος μεγαθύμου δουρὶ δαμέντι. See further West, *Th.* 609 n., who maintains that αἰὼν in the sense ‘all time’ is not attested before Heraclitus B 52 and Aesch. *Suppl.* 574. For other instances where the word appears in contexts implying uncertainty of human life in Pindar, cf. *Pyth.* 3.86-7 αἰὼν δ' ἀσφαλής | οὐκ ἔγεντ' οὐτ' Αἰακίδα παρὰ Πηλεΐ, *Isth.* 8.14-5 δόλιος γὰρ αἰὼν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κρέμαται, | ἐλίσσων βίου πόρον. Sometimes it is personified (e.g., *Nem.* 2.8 αἰὼν ταῖς μεγάλαις δέδωκε κόσμον Ἀθάναις). For a clear example of personification and distinction between ‘human life’ and ‘all time’, cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 899-900 πολλὰ γὰρ τίκτει Μοῖρα τελεσσιδῶ-|τειρ' Αἰὼν τε Χρόνου παῖς. For a useful general survey of the concept and its development, see Degani (1961) and Zuntz (1988). A possible secondary significance of the word in this passage is suggested in the note below.

**κυλινδομέναις ἀμέραις** : the gnome is evocative of seafaring. The verb κυλίνδω has unambiguous maritime connotations (Hom. *Il.* 11.307 πολλὸν δὲ τρόφι κύμα κυλίνδεται, *Od.* 5.296 μέγα κύμα κυλίνδων) and is sometimes also used metaphorically of human hardships and misfortunes; see Péron (1974) 128, 265 n. 2. The word αἰὼν is likewise at home in nautical metaphors: e.g., *Isth.* 8.14-15 δόλιος γὰρ αἰὼν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κρέμαται | ἐλίσσων βίου πόρον, *Nem.* 2.7-8 εὐθυπομπός | αἰὼν. The epithet in the last passage suggests that Pindar might have actually thought of αἰὼν as a derivative from ἄημι, ‘to blow’. Since *Isth.* 3 is modeled on *Isth.* 4, αἰὼν may allude to οὖρος in the corresponding vicissitude *gnome* of the longer poem (*Isth.* 4.6).

**ἀμέραις** : human life (αἰὼν) is measured in days, and each new day can bring a reversal of fortunes. For a pessimistic—and typically Greek—idea that human beings are creatures of the day, cf. Sem. 1.4 W, Bacch. 3.76.

**18b. ἄτρωτοί γε μὰν παῖδες θεῶν** : who are ‘the children of the gods’, and in what sense are they invulnerable? (i) Most scholars follow the scholiast ( $\Sigma$  *Isth.* 3.31a), taking παῖδες θεῶν as equivalent of θεοί: ‘human life has its ups and downs, but

gods alone sustain no wounds'; for a similar sentiment, cf. A. *Ag.* 553-4 τίς δὲ πλὴν θεῶν | ἅπαντ' ἀπήμων τὸν δι' αἰῶνος χρόνον. However, although this type of periphrasis is relatively common in Greek (e.g., 'children of the Greeks' = 'Greeks'; see *Isth.* 4.36b n.), there is no other instance where 'children of the gods' = 'gods' (for a similar problem, cf. Hes. *Th.* 240 τέκνα θεάων with West's note); cf. Bowra (1964) 115: 'no Greek would for a moment think that the sons of the gods are the same as gods, and this cannot be what Pindar intends'. It is more likely, therefore, that παῖδες θεῶν are heroes, as is the case elsewhere in Pindar (*Nem.* 9.26-7 ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοισι φόβοις | φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες θεῶν, *Pyth.* 11.62 υἱοὶ θεῶν, i.e. Dioskouroi). But if so the statement is simply not true because demigods, like Herakles or Achilles, are anything but invulnerable. The argument that heroes are much less vulnerable than men does not remove the inconsistency, hence Hartung's decision to emend the text (see apparatus).

(ii) Another way of addressing the problem is to reverse the position of the subject and the predicate: 'human life has ups and downs, but as for those who remain impervious to the blows of fortune they deserve to be called the children of the gods'. Taken in this way, the *gnome* would describe the pinnacle of human εὐδαιμονία achieved through one's ability to overcome suffering endemic to human condition. This too, however, is not entirely satisfactory; an exhortation for endurance in the face of misfortune is a Stoic sentiment without parallel in Pindar.

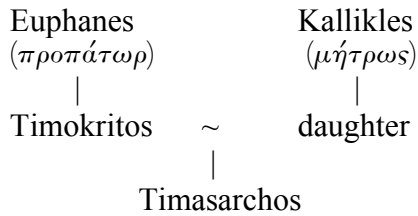
(iii) A third possibility has remained unnoticed. The phrase παῖδες θεῶν does not have to be understood strictly in genealogical terms. Pointing out the genealogy of Theseus, the scholium on Eur. *Hipp.* 45 concludes with the following remark: τοὺς δὲ εἰς ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν κακῶν γινομένους ἀνθρώπους θεῶν παῖδας ὠνόμαζον, ὧν καὶ ὁ Θησεὺς εἰς ἐστίν. The reference here is not so much to the mythological lore associated with Theseus as a civilizing figure but to the fact that he is a local hero assisting the

Athenians in dire circumstances, i.e. when they are under attack (cf. Plut. *Thes.* 35). This definition of *παῖδες θεῶν* applies to other figures of myth who acquired the status of cult heroes and whose assistance in military affairs was often solicited (e.g., Dioskouroi, Aiakids). To this group belongs a host of characters with purely local associations (e.g., Phylacus and Autonous in Delphi) and of mortal descent. The fact demonstrates that the term *παῖς θεῶν* can be used of any person (mortal or demigod) who undergoes deification and receives a cult (cf. Plut. *Agis* 60 οἱ δ' Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ προσετρέποντο φοιτῶντες ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἥρωα τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ θεῶν παῖδα προσαγορεύοντες).

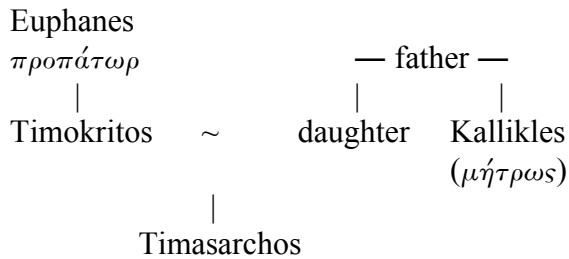
Considering the closing *gnome* of *Isth.* 3 in this light, the concluding *gnome* of the poem becomes much clearer. In their capacity as *παῖδες θεῶν* Greek heroes are literally invulnerable. The dichotomy is a familiar one in later periods. The statement that St. George is invulnerable is not true if we think of the Roman soldier tortured and executed by Diocletian, but makes good sense as a reference to the saint who appeared to the Crusader armies at Antioch or to the English soldiers at Agincourt. On this interpretation the *gnome* seems to allude to the fact that the Kleonymidai had lost four kinsmen in a battle mentioned at *Isth.* 4.34-5.

## APPENDIX A: GENEALOGIES

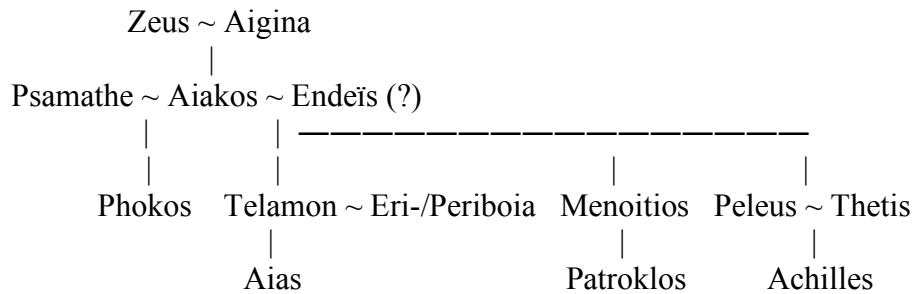
### (a) Theandridai



For the sake of convenience, I follow Currie's (2004) 69 reconstruction. The scholiast suggests a slightly different stemma (*Σ Nem.* 4.129ab μήτρως ὁ τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφός. ὁ δὲ λόγος· εἰ δὲ τῷ σῶ ὕμνῳ κελεύεις ἔτι με θεῖναι στήλην πρὸς πάροδον καὶ μνησθῆναι τοῦ πρὸς μητρός σου θείου Καλλικλέους, μνησθήσομαι), i.e.:



### (b) Aiakidai





## APPENDIX B: ICONOGRAPHY

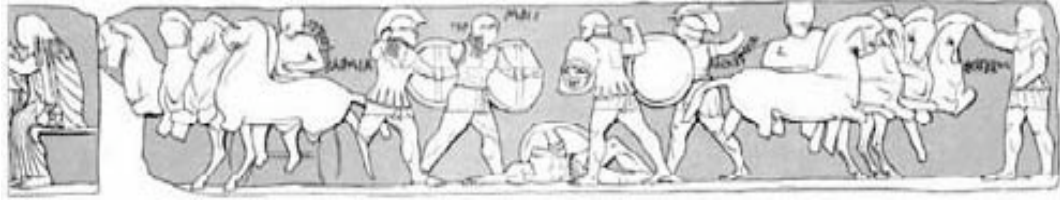


Figure 1. East frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (Drawing, after J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture Archaic Period*, fig.212.2)



Figure 2. Red-figured calyx-krater, London, British Museum F 480 (Etruria, ca. 400/350).



Figure 3. Brygos Painter. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Mus. 86.AE.286 (Athens, *ca.* 490).



Figure 4. Cavalcade Painter. Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 1404 (*ca.* 580).



Figure 5. Euphronios painter. Main side of a red-figured calix krater. Paris, Louvre G 103 (*ca.* 515–510 BC).

## MAPS AND PLANS

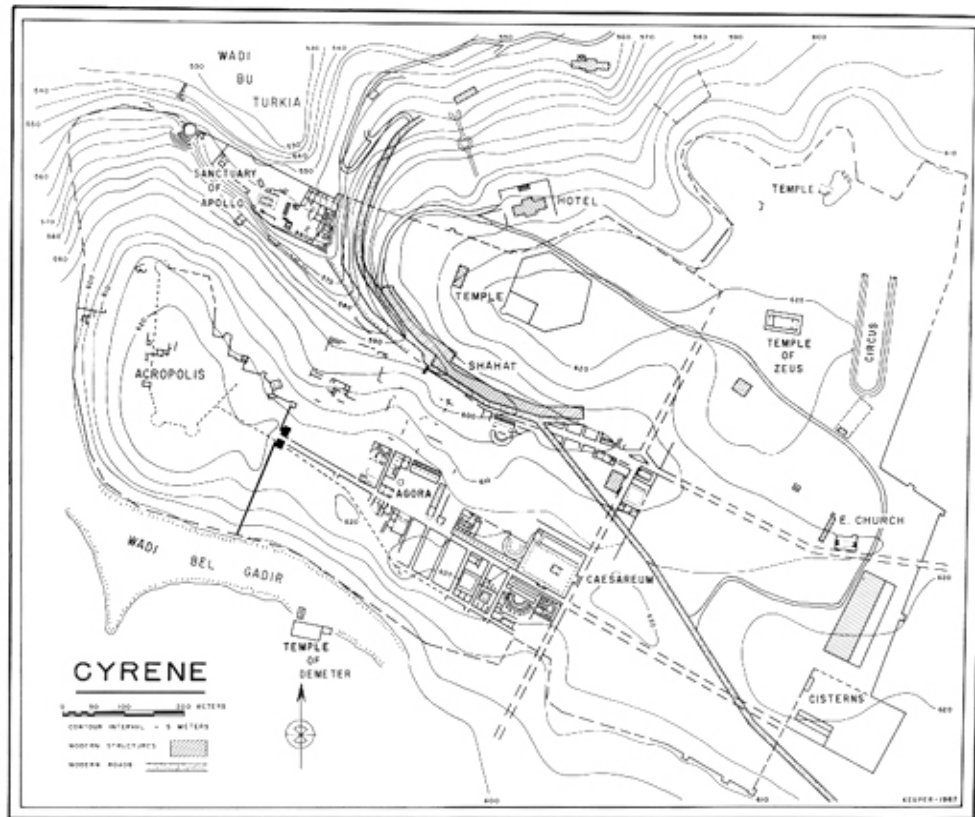


Figure 6. Cyrene

After the Cyrenaica Archeological Project, [www.cyrenaica.org](http://www.cyrenaica.org).



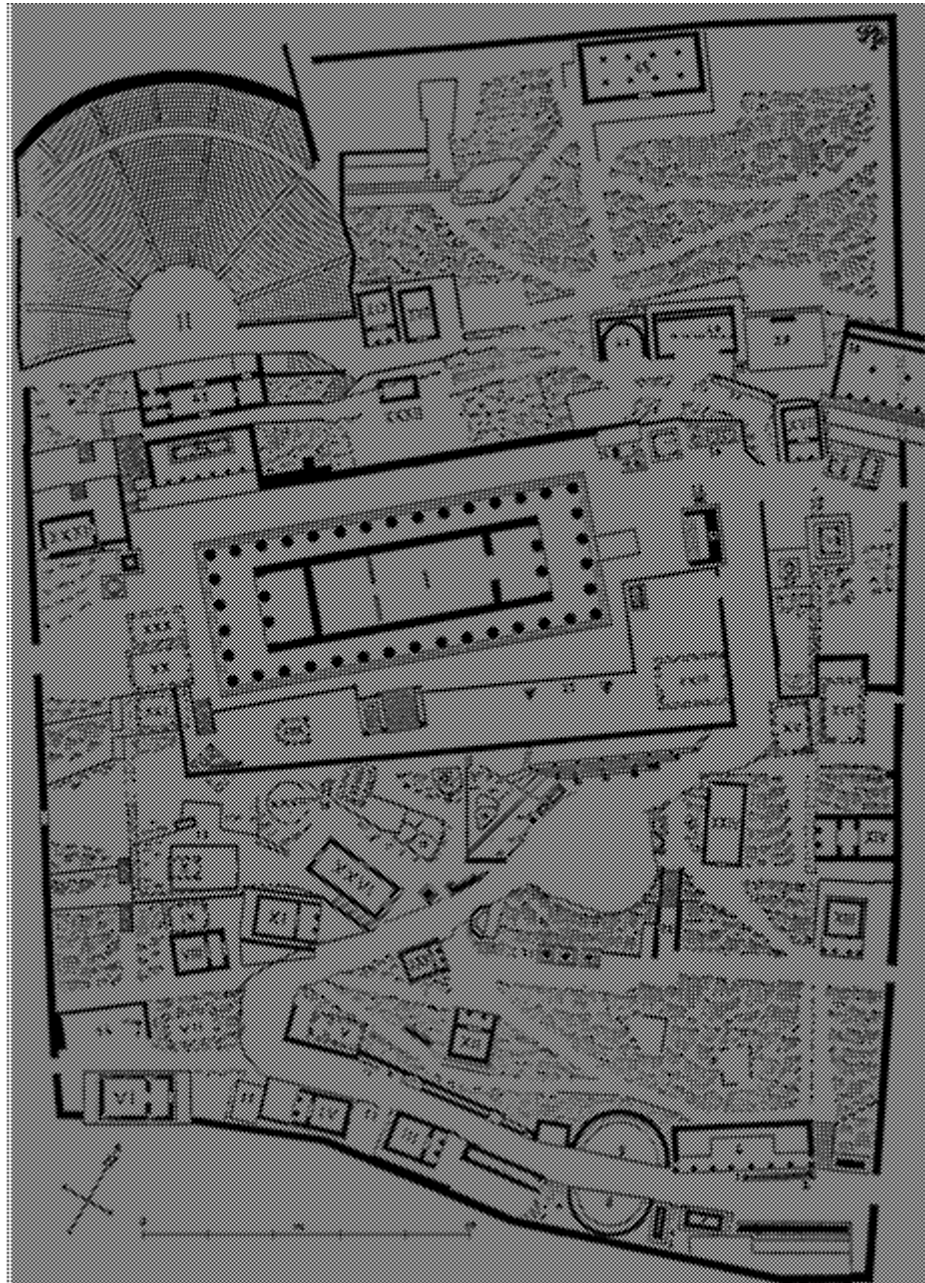


Figure 7. Temenos of Apollo at Delphi

After de La Coste-Messelière (1936), *Au musée de Delphes. Recherches sur quelques monuments archaïques et leur décor sculpté* (Paris).

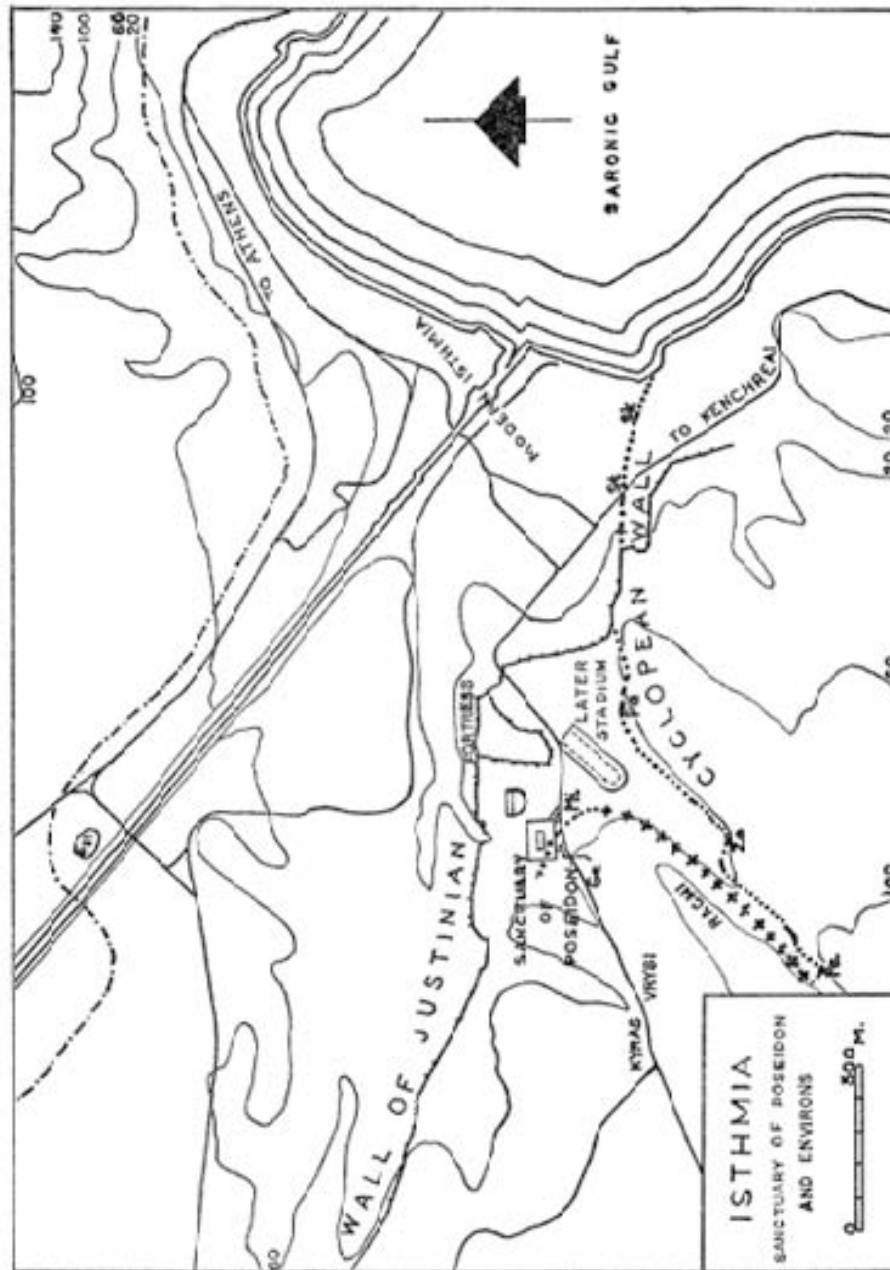


Figure 8. The Isthmian Sanctuary of Poseidon

After Broneer (1968) fig. 3.



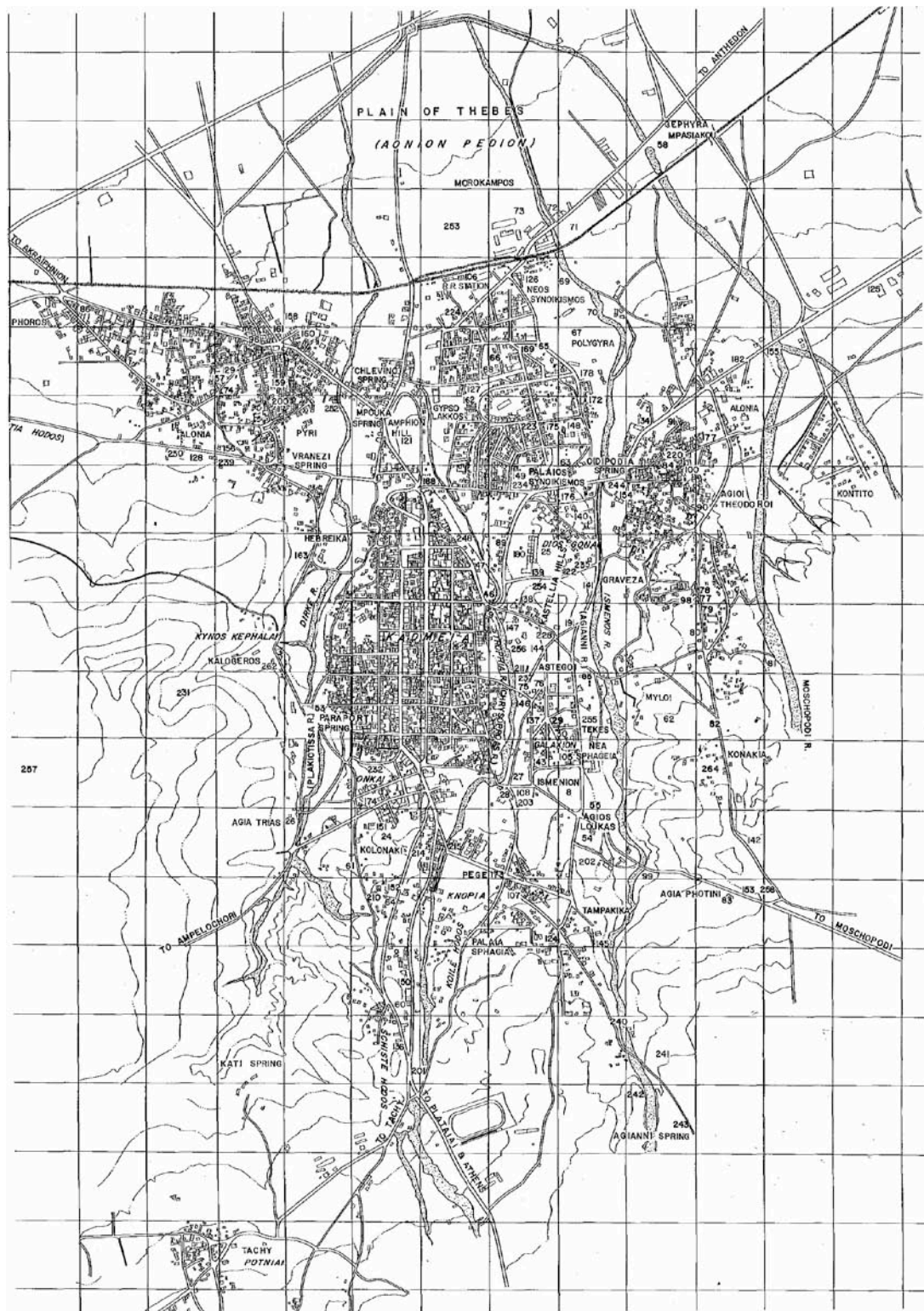


Figure 9. Greater Thebes

After Symenoglou (1985).

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